



Studies in Asia Minor

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STUDIES IN ASIA MINOR.

PART I.—THE ROCK NECROPOLEIS OF PHRYGIA.

THIS paper, and the plates by Mr. A. C. Blunt which accompany it, are the first-fruits of a journey in Phrygia, October 15 to November 27, 1881, for which Mr. Blunt was sent out specially by the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. It would be both unbecoming and unnecessary for me to speak of the drawings which he contributes to this paper; but I may say that he learned photography in the few days that were at his disposal before leaving England specially for the work of the expedition, so that he has been enabled to verify at home, by means of photographs, the drawings that he made on the spot. In addition to this, we together compared most of his drawings with the original monuments, and spared no care to attain accuracy. It has been necessary for me to write in Athens without seeing the completed drawings: this has added much to the difficulty of the work, but the reader who finds the text correspond with the plates will thus have an additional proof of the accuracy of both.¹ I should, however, have found it quite impossible to write what I have here written without constant help from the drawings, the artistic taste and clear memory of one friend who accompanied us, to whom are due the

¹ I had either to work in this somewhat hurried way before starting on a new journey, or defer the whole subject for a year.

discovery of many monuments in the two necropoleis, and several of the drawings here published.

I must also express my obligation to Sir C. Wilson. It was in a journey in his company from Smyrna to Angora, Sivas, and Samsun, May 15 to July 14, 1881, that I gained the knowledge of the country and people which alone made the second journey possible for me; difficulties that had before seemed insurmountable diminished with experience. Moreover, I then learned where were the best districts for exploration, and we could thus pass by places which would have employed our time less profitably. On the second journey we were absent from Smyrna only forty-three days, and we may claim the credit of having used our time well. We traversed a wide district, and examined sites in the south, north, west, and south-west of Phrygia. We left untouched whatever had been already done by Dr. Hirschfeld in the south and M. Perrot in the north, and brought home drawings and photographs—

(1) Of twenty large and elaborate tombs and twelve other monuments of the pre-Hellenic period. Of these, three tombs and most of the other monuments are here given.

(2) Of a torso of Heracles, and a temple-gate of Hellenic art.

(3) Of various remains of the Graeco-Roman period.

Besides these we brought copies of more than a hundred inscriptions, of which half are still unedited, and a small number of interesting coins. It is not yet possible to speak of geographical and historical results. The topography of Phrygia is at such a stage, that the sites of four or five cities which we have been able to fix with perfect certainty will probably lead to the identification of various other places.

We are indebted to many English and Greek gentlemen resident in Smyrna and the Maeander Valley for advice: I applied to every one that knew the country, and always met with kindness and help.

The two chief rock necropoleis of ancient Phrygia lie among the mountains which overhang the south western corner of the wide Sangarius valley. The same stream flows near both, past Seid-el-Ghazi, the ancient Nacoleia, into the Sangarius.¹ The more northern necropolis has been well known since it was

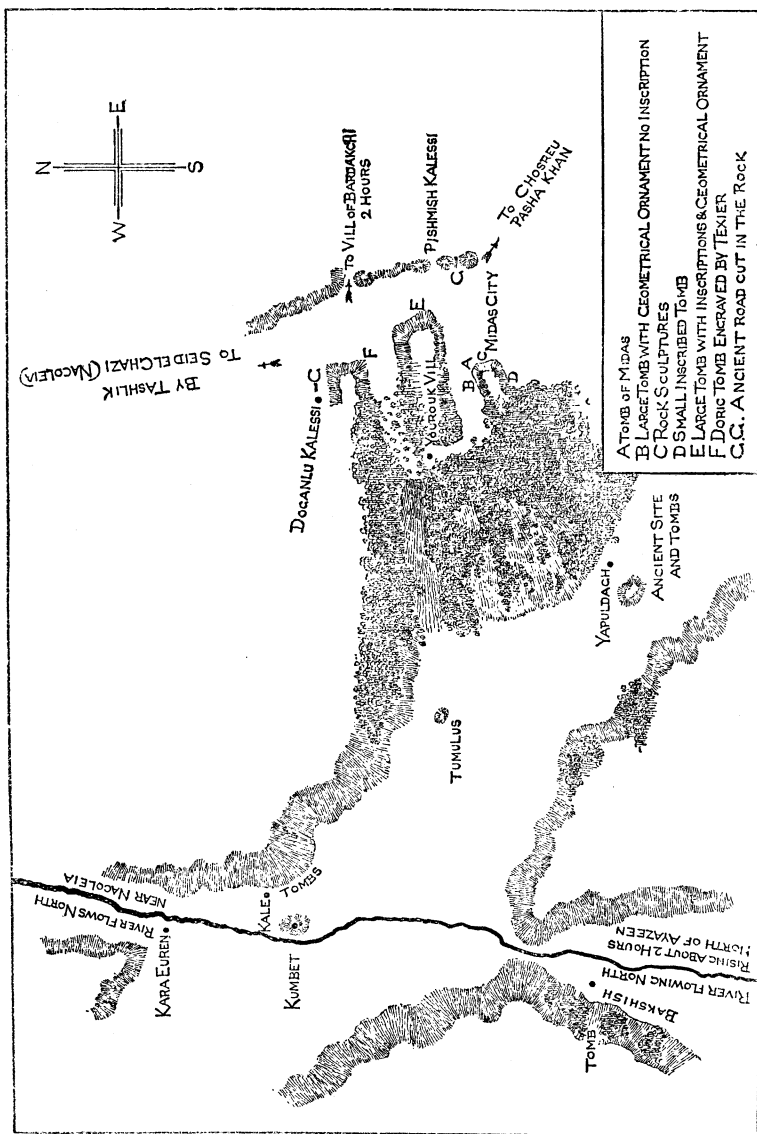
¹ The river may possibly be the Sangarius itself.

discovered by Leake in the year 1820 : it has been since visited by Texier, Steuart, Laborde, Barth, Mordtmann, and Perrot.¹ It extends over a wide stretch of country, as may be seen from the accompanying map, which has been drawn by Mr. Blunt from my ruder sketch. This map has no pretension to minute accuracy : in making it I have to depend solely on a few compass observations, and the estimate of distance furnished by the pace of a horse. But it is sufficiently accurate to save any future traveller much trouble, and to make the following description intelligible. The country may be described as a series of winding level valleys, varying in breadth between a hundred yards and a mile, and bounded by the perpendicular cliffs of rocky plateaux. Both the valleys and the higher plateaux are frequently covered with pine trees, and occasionally with dwarf oaks. The height above sea level is from 3,500 to 4,000 feet. In the cliffs that bound the valleys the tombs are cut; and the soft rock, a volcanic conglomerate, lends itself readily to the work. The chief groups of tombs are round the Midas plateau and along the western side of the valley between it and Doghanlu Kalessi, near Kumbet, near Yapuldak, and finally one very beautiful tomb near Bakshish. The centre of interest is the great 'written rock,' Yasili Kaya, on which one reads the name and title of King Midas : and as there is no modern name for this uninhabited district, I shall call it the Midas-necropolis.

With one or two slight exceptions to which I shall return on another occasion, there are no remains other than rock-cuttings in this district which can be attributed to the Hellenistic or to the Graeco-Roman period ; and I believe it is safe to say that

¹ See Leake, *Asia Minor*, p. 21 ; Steuart, *Anc. Remains of Lydia and Phrygia* ; Texier, *Asie Mineure* ; Laborde, *Voy. en Orient* ; Barth, *Peterm. Geogr. Mittheil.* 1860 ; Mordtmann, *Münch. Sitzungsbb.*, 1862 ; Perrot, *Voy. Archéol.* Steuart's brief description is accurate, but conveys little information to one who has not seen the place ; his plates are singularly bad, his copies of the inscriptions very good. Texier's account in his smaller work is a useful guide book ; his plates in the larger

work are better than usual ; the engraving of the Midas-tomb is almost completely accurate, the chief fault being about the pseudo-doorway. Laborde I have not seen. Barth describes a traveller's hasty visit ; his account is good so far as it goes, but serviceable chiefly to travellers. Mordtmann gives a very good account of Nacoleia, and exceedingly bad copies of the Phrygian inscriptions. Perrot's account and his few illustrations are invaluable.



no important town of these times existed in connection with this necropolis. On the other hand there are a few small and unimportant rock-tombs of the Roman period, as is shown by the inscriptions, and an inscription on the rock near the Midas-tomb which belongs probably to the second century after Christ.¹ A town of the Roman period was discovered by Perrot some miles east of the Midas-tomb (see the accompanying map). It was evidently a station on the road from Nacoleia (Seid-el-Ghazi) to Prymnessus, Docimion, and Synnada. Its inhabitants would naturally count the Midas-necropolis as one of the chief 'sights' of their country, probably also as a holy place: to them we may attribute the remains of the Roman time. But on the whole it is I think quite certain that there is a distinct break in the history of this district, and a wide gap between the tombs of the Phrygian race and the work of the Christians. The latter were not improbably hermits and anchorites, who found in this secluded district a suitable home, and dedicated their lives to the task of cutting out churches in the rock. The native Phrygian cities continued to flourish under the Persian rule, when the Phrygian monarchy had disappeared. We may consider it probable that even so late as the Persian rule the fine plateau, on the edge of which is carved the Midas-tomb, was the site of the chief city of this part of Phrygia, as Gordium was of the eastern part of Phrygia, the later Galatia; but that the new foundations by which the successors of Alexander consolidated their empire and established centres of Hellenism in the country, gradually supplanted the older city. The city of the Midas-necropolis had once lain on the high-road of civilisation—the road from Pteria and the east to Sardis and the Aegean. But civilisation found new centres and new paths after the conquests of Alexander: henceforth this mountainous district lay aside from the naturally marked roads of commercial and political intercourse.

Though no city of the Roman period can be found near this necropolis, the habitations of the pre-Hellenic period are quite distinct. Small rock fortresses exist at Kumbet, at Yapuldak,

¹ It has been imperfectly published by Perrot (*Voy. Arch.* p. 147): Mordtmann (*Münch. Gel. Anz.* 1861) assigns it to the time of Julian, on the sole

ground that an inscription in honour of Julian exists at Nacoleia, six hours distant, but the letters are far too finely cut for such a late period.

and on a rocky hill called Pishmish Kalessi, a mile east from the Midas-grave on the opposite side of the valley. Of these the best preserved is Pishmish Kalessi, which has been carefully described and mapped by Perrot. I need not therefore repeat the account he has given of its walls, gate, houses, cisterns, and secret entrance by a subterranean staircase, all hewn out of the solid rock. The others were of a similar character, but are now in a much more dilapidated condition. At Yapuldak the secret entrance is still visible. One can descend some little way by it, but the lower part is now blocked up.¹ But these little fortresses were of small importance in comparison with the city on the plateau, on one side of which is carved the Midas-tomb.

This plateau is as full of traces of human activity as the rocky hills of Athens. Cisterns, cut rocks, altars with flights of steps, and other cultus-symbols are scattered over a plateau of great extent. At one point, about 200 yards south of the Midas-tomb, the road ascends in a gentle curve from the valley beneath to the plateau above.² In ascending, there is on the right a perpendicular wall of rock on which a series of figures in low relief have been carved as if to represent a procession descending the road. The rocks have been much broken, and probably there were originally more figures than are now visible. First come two tall figures, about ten feet high, wrapped in long mantles, with one hand raised under the mantle and held in front of the face. Eight or ten yards on is a second group: a naked boy, the upper part of whose body has been broken away along with the rock on which it was carved, stands looking back to four figures which are coming down the slope. These four figures are in dress and attitude similar to the first two, but are only four feet high. A few yards further on is a figure which, as the accompanying sketch (Fig. 1) shows, resembles a Marsyas hung up to be flayed. Again a few yards beyond one finds a figure four feet high in similar garb and attitude to those of

¹ None of these can compare in length with the great staircase in the citadel of Amasia in Pontus, which is still quite perfect. It is not, like the Phrygian stairs, a secret entrance to the fortress, but runs down into the heart of the mountain to a spring of water.

² Around the foot of the plateau there is a great accumulation of earth forming a steep slope. The road of which I speak can of course be traced only after it reaches the edge of the rocks, and not up the slope beneath.

the first two groups. It is represented in the accompanying woodcut (Fig. 2), which may be taken as a sufficient picture of all the similar figures: the only difference being that the two tall figures below in the front of the procession are exceedingly thin in proportion to their height. The whole eight figures are therefore reproductions of one traditional type. None of them show any attempt to imitate nature, or to represent the varying

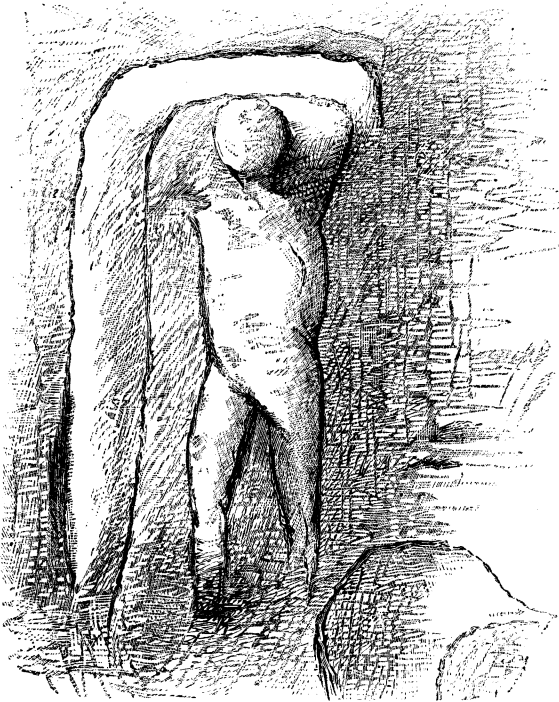


FIG. 1.—FIGURE OF PROCESSION.

outline or character of different human beings. One after another, they simply repeat the conventional forms which were considered a sufficient representation of the human figure. At the same time there is a certain grace and ease visible, especially in the line of the back.

A few yards further on, just before reaching the level of the

plateau, the breadth of the road increases, and this wider space has evidently been a place of worship. On the right-hand side a rock-altar projects from the wall of rock that bounds the road. The altar is of peculiar form, as may be seen from Plate XXI. B, drawn by Mr. Blunt. On the face of rock to the right or lower side of the altar, and evidently associated with it, is carved in low relief a figure, two feet four inches high, bearing a

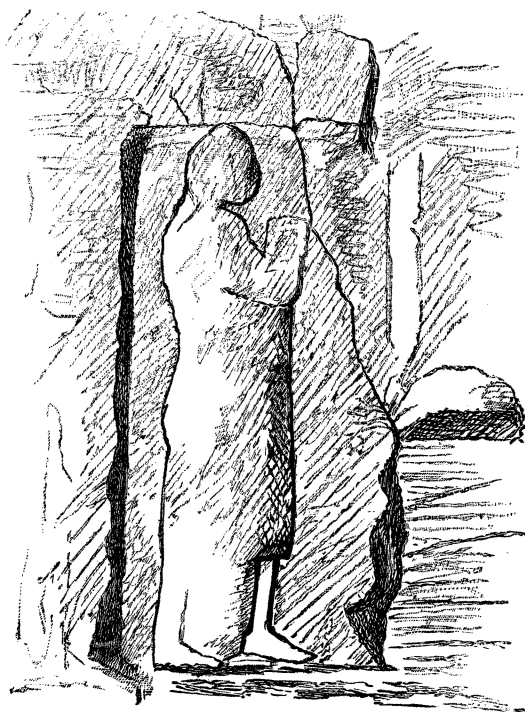


FIG. 2.—FIGURE OF PROCESSION.

caduceus in the left hand. An enlarged drawing is given in the accompanying woodcut (Fig. 3). He is placed in a slightly sunk panel, which is shaped irregularly to take in the figure and the accompanying symbols. His back is turned to the altar, and his face directed down the road. In front of him is represented what seems to be an altar. Over it are carved

symbols, a bird between two low pointed caps, which resemble in form the caps of the Dioscuri on coins. These symbols have not the character of the hieroglyphic inscriptions which are placed beside the figures in the rock-sculptures of Bog-hazkeui in Cappadocia, and beside the 'Niobe' in Lydia. The deity is represented in the attitude usual on archaic Attic stelae, such as those of Aristion or of Lyseas. He wears a

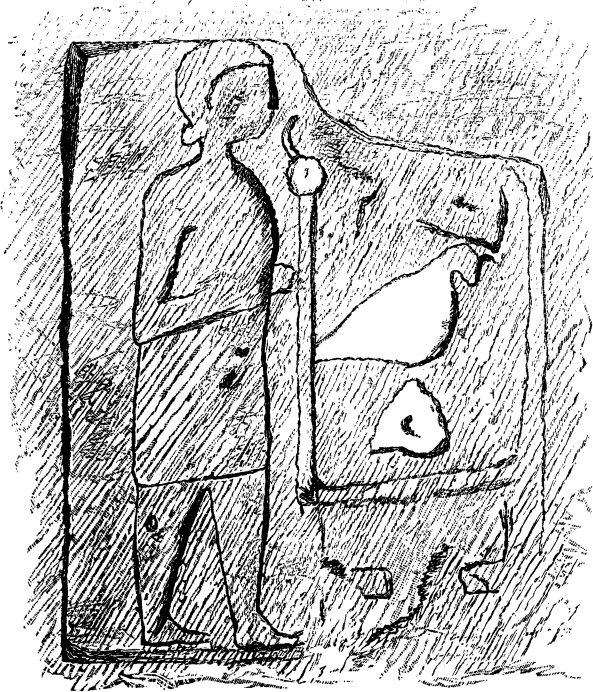


FIG. 3.—FIGURE OF HERMES.

round close-fitting cap with a little horn or tail projecting behind. He is dressed in a short tunic. In front he holds up, grasped in the left hand, an object which is certainly a caduceus: one of its horns is worn away, but slight traces of it could still be seen on the stone. The outline of the lower part of the face has been obliterated; the slightest trace remained to

show that the eye had been indicated. The feet were apparently meant to be wearing shoes with upturned toes, similar to those worn by the natives at the present time. The same peculiarity occurs at Sparta in the lately discovered series of archaic reliefs, in Lycia on the Harpy tomb, and in general on the early rock-sculptures of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia. It is noteworthy that only the goddess on the Spartan reliefs has turned-up toes, whereas the god wears straight shoes.

Although the figure of the deity shows some resemblance in attitude and bearing to the archaic Attic grave-stelae, it shows no trace of the observation of nature, the evident desire to bring into expression the individual human character from beneath the traditional type, which distinguish so eminently the archaic Attic work and give promise of the style of the Attic art in its development. Here there is nothing indicated but the bare outline of the human figure. This is done with considerable ease and certainty. The hand which cut the outline knew exactly what was necessary, and was far removed from the necessity of making tentative efforts: but we have here rather hieratic symbolism than true art. If we compare this figure with that of the youthful god behind the great deity on the rocks of Pteria,¹ it is obvious that the Phrygians learned this type from the White Syrians of Cappadocia (Herod. I. 74, &c.: Nic. Dam. *fr.* 48). The dress, the attitude, the whole character of the work is identical. The head-dress differs in the two cases. The Phrygian figure wears a close-fitting round cap like that worn by the Hermes, who is represented on the coins of Aenus in Thrace as early as the fifth century.² The caduceus never occurs in the Cappadocian work, and it is very interesting to find this symbol used at such a remote period in the centre of Phrygia. It is therefore probable that this, like so many other religious ideas, came to Greece from Phrygia. Hermes-Cadmilos is regularly associated with the Phrygian Cybele in the most favourite hieratic representation of the goddess.³

The most interesting feature of this monument is the grave

¹ Perrot, Pls. 38 and 44.

² See *Br. Mus. Coin Catalogue of Thrace*. These sculptures beside the gate should be compared with those of

Alyzia in Acarnania (Heuzey, *Acarnanie*, p. 407).

³ See Conze, *Hermes-Cadmilos in Arch. Ztg.* 1880, p. 1.

immediately behind it and in evident connection with the altar and the figure of the god. We find in Phrygia many examples of this custom of placing on the front of the rock in which the grave is concealed some design of a religious or ornamental character. The whole cultus-place is therefore consecrated to the worship of the dead: at the very entrance to the city, almost in the gate, some hero of the Phrygian race was buried, and the city-door is hallowed by his worship.

This feature is also common to Greece with Phrygia: I need only refer to Curtius'¹ discussion of this point, and the list which he gives of similar graves in Greek cities. The nearer the gate, the more honourable, *i.e.* the more sacred, is the place of burial. I shall at a later stage have occasion to speak of a Phrygian house cut in the rock at Kumbet, the ground-plan of which with several rooms and passages can be distinctly traced. A flight of steps, fifteen feet in breadth, leads up to it: and just before entering on this flight of steps, one passes on the right a sort of shelf in the rock. Above and behind this shelf, in a similar position to our tomb by the city-gate, is a grave. The shelf was therefore a sort of altar, on which to lay offerings to the dead. It is important to observe that both these graves are on the right hand as one enters the gate. The right hand is the direction in which all lucky actions take place. In the oldest Aryan marriage ceremonial, the bridegroom led the bride three times round the sacrificial fire, having it always on the right hand.² The happy dead are led away by Hermes to the right:³ compare the epigram of Hegesippus (*Anth. Pal.* VII. 545). So on the funeral vase of Myrrhina, Hermes leads her by the right hand. In the *Aeneid*, VI. 541, the path to Elysium branches to the right. The grave was of course on the left hand of those who came out of the house or of the city, but the essential idea of the gate is that it is the entrance into, not the means of egress from, the city or the house. Just before crossing the threshold one has on the right hand the grave of the tutelary hero—a happy omen. Those who come out of the

¹ *Gesch. des Wegebaus bei den Griechen*, p. 61.

49, 6; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* v. 177 ff.

² See Zimmer, *Altind. Leben*, ch. 12; Marquardt, *Röm. Privatleben*, i.

³ Benndorf, on the Vase of Myrrhina, in *Mittheil. Inst. Ath.* iv., p. 185.

city have already taken the decisive step before they reach the hero's grave.

We learn from Babrius (*Fab.* 30) that it was customary to place a statue of Hermes on graves, and it has been argued from this fact that the beautiful Hermes of Andros, which was certainly placed on a grave,¹ represented the deified dead man. However this may be in that particular case, the custom is certain at least for the time of Babrius, *i.e.* the second century before Christ; and we have here such an apt parallel in Phrygia as to justify us in counting this relief a proof that a similar custom existed in ancient Phrygia. We do not as yet know what was the name by which the Phrygian Hermes was styled. That word does not occur in the formation of Phrygian names, while it is a common element in Carian names, and it is probable that Hermes was known by another name in Phrygia.

At first I had thought that this plateau was a religious place of meeting, hallowed as the place of worship for the living and the home of the dead. The city which formed the social centre of the district would in that case have been one of the small rock-fortresses such as Pishmish Kalessi. But this idea had to be given up when I saw the traces of the city walls: unfortunately I did not observe them till the very end of our stay, and had no time to explore them completely.

Not one stone of the wall is now left; but it is easy to trace it along the edge of the plateau, by the marks cut to receive the lower blocks. In a similar way I have traced the line of the walls at Phocaea for about a mile, without finding a single stone. The walls were therefore built of squared blocks of stone, like those which were used at the north-west corner of Pishmish Kalessi where the natural rock fails (see Perrot, p. 144).

Within the city, about one hundred yards from the Hermes, is another rock-cut shrine, the appearance of which will be more readily understood from Mr. Blunt's drawings (Figs. 4, 5) than from a verbal description. Over an altar approached by a flight of steps is a hieratic representation of peculiar character. The curved lines which surround it, and terminate on each side in a round knot, are very like the hair of the sphinxes at Euyuk

¹ Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* i. 50; Körte, *Mithr. Ath.* iii. 102.



FIG. 4.—ROCK-ALTAR.

(Perrot, Pls. 65 and 67), and the idea is therefore suggested that the intention has been to indicate a human face. On the rock walls that border the plateau, I observed two slightly outlined representations of the human head and shoulders. The sculptures in and around the city show that a much better representation of the human form was traditional in the local art, and it is therefore clear that the slightness of the indication in these three cases is intentional. In all three the purpose is probably the same; they are *apotropaia*, intended to protect the walls and the city from evil. A similar custom existed throughout Greece and Italy: and the two commonest protecting symbols are the gorgoneion and the fascinum (see Jahn, *üb. d. Bös. Blick*, in *Leipz. Verhandl.* 1855). The carving above

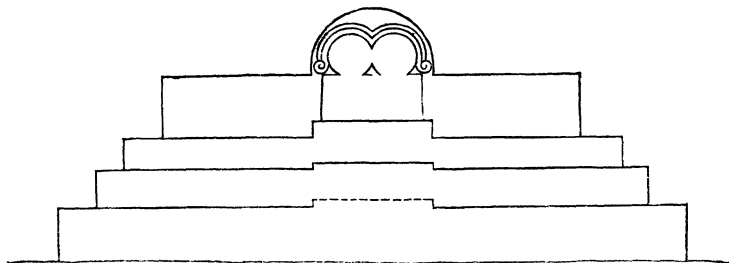


FIG. 5.—(Restoration.) Scale, 6 feet to the inch.

this Phrygian shrine may be compared with the stone with the two eyes in the city-wall at Thasos, which Curtius is probably right in considering a sort of abbreviation of the gorgoneion (Conze, *Reise auf d. Thrak. Inseln*, Pl. V.: Curtius, *Wappengebrauch*, p. 87). The gorgoneion was the most powerful agent, and therefore also the most effectual preventive, of evil. It occurs in a much more finished representation on numerous chamber-tombs in these Phrygian necropoleis: the tombs are all of the later period of Phrygian art, showing the influence of Greek architecture, but I have not been able to enter the chamber-tombs that probably belong to an earlier time. These gorgoneia are never hideous. They are well-formed, almost beautiful faces, surrounded by a broad fringe of curling hair, and having a knot of serpents beneath the chin. They resemble the later

Greek gorgoneia so much that at first sight I thought they must have been made under the influence of Greek sculpture at a very late period. But in every case where the symbol was well preserved, we could see distinctly a spear or arrow passing obliquely downward from right to left behind the head : in one case there were two arrows inclined at a slight angle to one another, with the barbs in opposite directions. This characteristic never occurs in the Greek type. Moreover, I have no doubt that Steuart was right in seeing a head of Medusa on the left side of the doorway to the beautiful tomb (Perrot, Pl. 7). This tomb certainly belongs to a period before Greek sculpture had affected Phrygian art. M. Perrot declares that the architecture of the tomb is semi-Greek, the sculpture oriental. In this case it probably had a symbolic sense as *apotropaion*, but in several later examples it is used simply as an ornament, and placed symmetrically on all the walls of the chamber. No example occurs of the early Greek type, the hideous face with gaping mouth and lolling tongue. It has been shown by Furtwängler (*Bronzef. aus Olymp.* p. 70f) and Milchhöfer (*Arch. Ztg.* 1881, p. 289) that the device was originated in Greece during the seventh century to represent griffins and other monsters with open mouth. Before that time, it is probable that the ugliness of the gorgoneion was due only to the rudeness of early art. Gorgo was an impersonation of the hurtful side of the divine nature, which might be provoked by any omission in the respect and observance due to the deity. It is always found that as religious feeling purifies itself, the old fetishistic beliefs persist, but become at the same time more vulgar in proportion as religion becomes more pure : the religious needs of the less enlightened, who cannot fully grasp the purer religion, lead them to supplement it by some grosser superstitions. The fear of offending the deity by want of due respect develops into the superstition of the Evil Eye, whose baneful influence is averted by some gross, hideous, or obscene symbol or action. The gorgoneion was developed in Greece under this influence, till art took it in hand and gave it a new meaning. In this Phrygian shrine, I believe we have an example of the primitive religious idea.

In ascending the winding road to the city gate, we remark in passing the Marsyas figure a flight of steps ascending from

the left. If we suppose that we are ascending this flight of steps from the ground beneath, we should have on our left hand an inscription engraved in a large oblong panel slightly sunk in the face of a rock. It is remarkable that this inscription is the same as one of those engraved on the Midas-tomb, except that one word is altered.¹ About fifteen yards further to the left, but on the same level as this inscription, there is a rock-shrine, similar in style to the one at the gate, though differing in details, and like it facing south-east. A flight of steps, forming three sides of a square, leads up to a little niche with an oblong altar beneath it. Above this altar and niche was carved an inscription in large letters: unfortunately only the lower half of twelve letters at the left hand remain; the rest of the inscription has disappeared along with the rock on which it was carved. Similarly many of the steps of the staircase we have spoken of have disappeared.

It is needless to enumerate the many rock-cuttings which exist over the plateau. Some of them will be fully described hereafter; the majority, such as cisterns and levelled surfaces in the rock, have nothing to distinguish them from similar works in such Greek cities as Athens or Phocaea. The perpendicular wall of rock which bounds this plateau on every side is full of tombs of varying age and style. Chief of these in beauty, size, and interest, whether for the historical associations to which it appeals, or for the peculiar character of its art, is the great sculptured rock, on which one reads the name and title of King Midas. The beauty and delicacy of the geometrical pattern, which resembles a combination of the maeander with rows of crosses, and the wonderful state of preservation in which the sharp clear angular pattern still is, make this rock in the lonely winding valley one of the most impressive sights one can imagine. Were there nothing else in Phrygia, this rock alone would be worth the journey.

The rock on which this sculptured tomb, if tomb it be, is made, may be described as a gigantic slab, eighty feet high, jutting out from the plateau. Almost the whole of one side of

¹ The position of this inscription suggests that it was intended to attract the eye of a person ascending the steps. On the interpretation of the Phrygian

inscriptions, see an article which I hope to publish in *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.* 1882.

this slab is occupied by the pattern, the other side is plain. The top of the slab is so narrow that when I climbed over it as far as was possible, I sat on the edge as on the back of a horse, and pushed myself along with my hands. In accordance with analogy, one would expect that if this monument were a sepulchre, the grave would be a sort of well, opening behind and above the sculptured front. Perrot has engraved (Plates 5 and 6) one tomb of this character : Steuart gives another, which I have seen, about two hours' distance from the Midas-tomb ; we found many others in the great necropolis at Ayazeen, which I shall describe further on. One of these furnished an especially close analogy to the Midas-tomb, the ornamentation being very similar in character. In this latter case the actual grave is exposed, the covering slab having been in some way removed. About four feet behind the sculptured face, an oblong well, twelve or fifteen feet deep, has been cut down into the rock, and the body was lowered into it. Apparently some treasure-seekers had observed the joints of the stone that closed the well, and in removing it they broke the top part of the sculptured pediment. But it is certain that no such grave can exist behind the front of the Midas-tomb. The stone is a very soft conglomerate, and a deep well of this kind in the thin rock would split it like a wedge. If the monument is a real sepulchre, to which supposition all analogy points, either the actual grave must be entered in some different way, perhaps underground, or else the rock has been at one time thicker and larger, and the grave has acted like a wedge and split off a part of it.

The second great rock-necropolis of ancient Phrygia lies in and near a little village called Ayazeen, about twenty miles south of the Midas-necropolis, and fifteen miles north of Afium Kara Hissar. Ayazeen itself is situated beside a stream which flows down into the valley of Afium Kara Hissar, and thence past the ancient Philomelium into one of the lakes. In and around the village are hundreds of tombs, chiefly of the period when Phrygian art had begun to feel the influence of Greek architecture. This necropolis is far richer than the other in tombs of that time, and close to the village there are none of an earlier period. But about three miles from it towards the north is a very grand series of tombs of the older periods. These lie on the watershed between the Sangarius valley and

the valley of the Afium Kara Hissar river. In this neighbourhood we did not succeed in discovering any trace of a city whether of earlier or later time ; nothing remained besides the carved rocks except a few Byzantine-fragments. I can therefore not advance the slightest suggestion as to the city to which this scattered necropolis belonged.

Beside the village was a small artificial tumulus. The inhabitants said that an Englishman had once come past the village very many years ago, and had told them they would find much treasure in the mound. They had forthwith gone by night and dug deep into it, but had found nothing but stones and earth. One is surprised by the rarity of tumuli in Phrygia. Three at wide intervals in the Afium Kara Hissar valley, one between Kumbet and the Midas-tomb, another beside Nacoleia (Seid-el-Ghazi)—such is the complete list of those known to me. The reason must evidently be that it was so easy to cut the rock of the country, whereas in the wide Hermus valley artificial tumuli were more natural. At Smyrna the trachyte rock was far too hard to cut ; there was no spare soil to make tumuli, and therefore they buried their dead in cairns. The rocks at Ayazeen are a soft chalk full of gritty particles : one can cut it easily with a knife. Hence the tombs are generally very much dilapidated, and numbers are hopelessly gone. The rocks to the north of the village where the archaic tombs are cut are better. They resemble the rocks of the Midas-necropolis, being easy to work and yet hard enough to wear well.

Many of the tombs in the older part of the necropolis were inaccessible to us : all that we could see was a little square doorway in the face of a perpendicular cliff, ten to twenty feet above the ground. Very few tombs of this style occur in the Midas-necropolis, and of these few one was certainly very early. It will be mentioned more in detail hereafter. I have seen several similar tombs in quite inaccessible situations in the border country between Galatia and Cappadocia. Near Ayazeen these openings are cut in a long perpendicular cliff, about forty feet high, which runs along the side of a hill ; after passing about twenty of them, we reach a more interesting example. A cube of rock projects from the cliff, and in its front face a small doorway appears in the usual position twenty feet above

the ground. Over this door is carved an obelisk. On each side of the obelisk a large lion is carved in low relief, rampant, with its fore paw on the top of the door. Below each of the lions lies a little cub. The lion on the right hand is much better shaped than the other. Both are much overgrown with moss, but there was no appearance of an attempt to indicate muscles or other details, except eye and ear. The mouths of both gape wide, and the tongues project. The height from the present surface of the ground to the top of the rock is thirty-seven feet. (See Pl. XVII.)

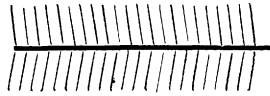
The first thought that rises in one's mind on beholding this tomb is of course its resemblance to the famous gateway of Mycenae, with its two lions and the column between them. There are many points of difference between them. The column at Mycenae stands on what is probably an altar, that in Phrygia is placed directly on the doorway: at Mycenae there are no small lions beneath the large ones. But the chief difference lies in the style, so far as I can judge on this point from the published engravings. The lions of Mycenae are lank, thin, elongated animals, and more art has been shown in the representation of details. The heads also must have been rather small. The Phrygian lions are thick, with enormous heads. Striking as is the difference in style between the two monuments, it is, however, no greater than exists between the Phrygian tomb and another which has been carved in the same hillside, not one hundred yards away. This second tomb we shall describe in the next paragraph. On the other hand the resemblance in idea between the Phrygian tomb and the Mycenae gateway is complete. In the former the obelisk and the lions are placed over the entrance to the home of the dead, in the latter they guard the entrance to the abode of the living. The gateway is one of the holiest places in the city, and similarly the tomb is one of the chief sanctuaries of religion. We have already seen two cases where the gate and the tomb are united. It may therefore be assumed that the two monuments spring from a common religious idea, embodied in similar symbolism. At least eight tombs exist in the two Phrygian necropoleis, on which recurs the same device of the lions as guardians over the doorway. One of these has been already published, first by Steuart and afterwards by Perrot (Plate

VII.). None of the other examples known to me can compare in antiquity with the tomb which Mr. Blunt now publishes for the first time: but the complete series when published will form an instructive chapter in the history of Phrygian art.

About one hundred yards away is another tomb, which has probably been originally similar in character to the first, but has now fallen in. Enormous masses of rock, fifteen to twenty feet in length and of proportionate thickness, lie in a heap on the ground: some of them show fragments of the relief that adorned the outside of the tomb, others contain part of the walls of the grave-chamber. The most important of these fragments is one on which has been sculptured in high relief the head of a lion. (Pl. XVIII.) It measures from the nose to the back of the head seven and a half feet. The relief is of a peculiar character: although it is very high, about six inches, yet the surface is treated as if the relief were very low. There is only the slightest variation in the surface to indicate the different details. Round the outline, the edges are cut down at right angles to the ground of the stone. In this respect the treatment resembles closely that of the curious archaic relief from Sparta known as the Orestes and Electra (see the description, Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Gr. Plast.* i. p. 84). The marking of details is not confined to the surface of the head, but is continued on the perpendicular edge. This treatment marks the transition to another method of which examples occur in Asia Minor. If the lion's head, instead of being placed against a background were cut sheer off the rock on which it is carved, and the opposite side carved in the same style as the surface of the relief, we should then have a lion in the round, whose treatment is however entirely that of work in relief. We stand thus on the boundary line which, in the development of sculpture, separates carving in the round from simple relief work.

The mane is indicated both on the surface of the relief and on the perpendicular edge. On the surface it is indicated by a series of curls, similar to those on the forehead of the (so-called) Apollo of Thera. On the perpendicular edge it is marked by a series of parallel oblique lines. If the lion were converted into a figure in the round in the manner indicated above, the

marking on the back of the neck would then become the well-known "herring-bone pattern."



From the ear down the cheek, thence behind the chin and down the breast runs a slight ridge marked with the same herring-bone pattern. This must represent a line of hair, and probably marks the edge of the mane passing behind the ear and along the cheek. Then below the breast it marks the line of division of the hair. The ear is indicated by a triangular surface, well relieved from the general plane of the face. It is small in comparison with the size of the head, as a lion's ear naturally is. The eye is deeply cut, and the eyelid projects with a sharp perpendicular edge from the eyeball. The muscles of the cheek, and the lines on nose and cheek produced by the drawing back of the lips to lay bare the teeth, are all indicated with a distinctness and truth which shows genuine observation of nature, and which gives an uncommon expression of spirit and life to the whole in spite of the purely conventional rendering of each detail taken singly. The folds of skin and the muscles on the shoulder are rendered in the same way as on the cheek. The stone is broken away just at the point where the foreleg begins to project from the line of the body. Of the relief also a small part has been broken from the nose and mouth. It is remarkable that no teeth are indicated in the upper jaw, and that in the lower jaw a row of broad flat molars, quite unlike those of a carnivorous animal, is represented. We observed this peculiarity on the spot, and it is clearly given in a drawing in my hands, which was made from another point of view than that chosen by Mr. Blunt. The shoulder is in decidedly higher relief than the head, and a sharply and perpendicularly cut edge marks the distinction between the two. The effect on the drawing before me is remarkably like the restoration of the lions of the Mycenaean gateway, given by Blouet (*Peloponn.* ii. Pl. 71), where a similar line marks the insertion of the head into the shoulder.

The head of this lion is executed in a much finer style than

any known product of Cappadocian art, but yet shows an affinity with it in the representation of such details as the

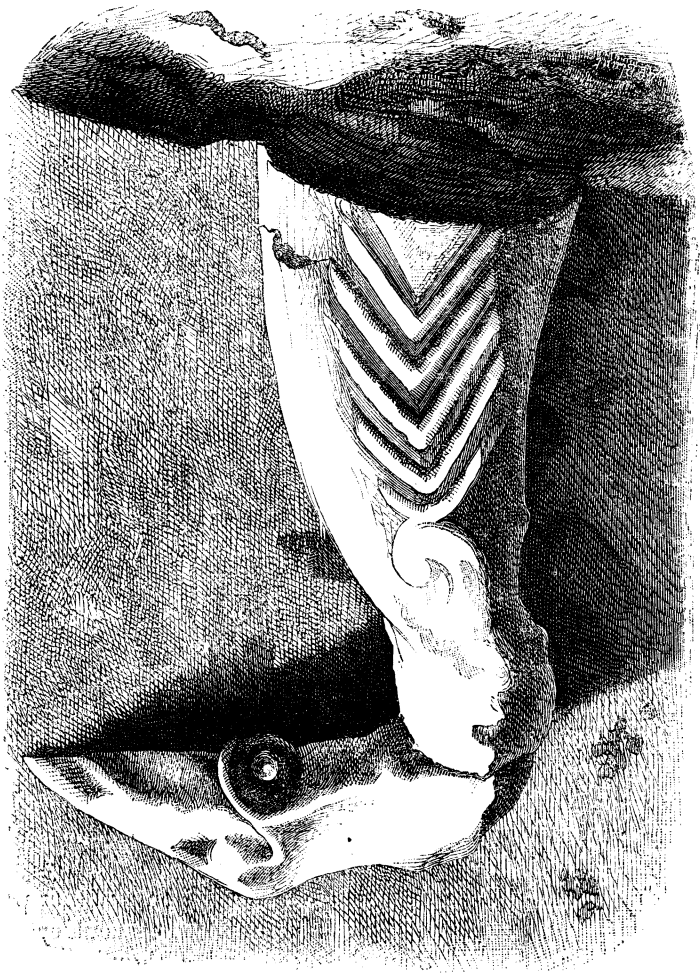


FIG. 6.—LEG OF LION.

(The cut made from the leg in its present position is here inverted.)

cheek-muscles, which occur on one of the lions of Euyuk. The Phrygian lion of Kalabak, near Angora (photographed in Perrot,

Pl. 32), should also be compared with our monument. In both cases we see the oval lines marking the shoulder-muscles.

A line on the stone in front of the head was horizontal when the monument was complete, as is proved by the remains of the chamber on the inside of the fallen block. The lion, therefore, was either rampant or standing with its head drawn back. It is improbable that the subject of the relief on this tomb was

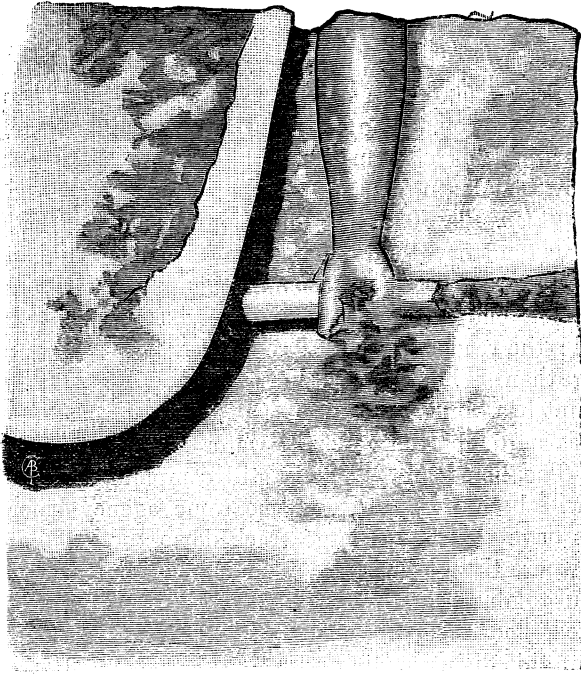


FIG. 7.—MAN'S ARM ; Scale about 1 : 18.

like that of the other lion-tomb; in that case we should certainly have found more fragments of the two lions among the fallen blocks. On the woodcuts (Figs. 6 and 7), Mr. Blunt has given the only other pieces of the relief that we could see. One of them represents an inverted leg¹ of the lion, in a style as remarkable as the head; the other represents a man's arm,

¹ Length of leg from top to joint, 4 ft. 3 in.

holding some straight instrument which runs into a peculiar curved object. The subject of this relief seems therefore to have included a lion and a human figure: it is to be hoped that future examination will show whether the old oriental myth of Heracles killing the lion was represented.

The sepulchral chamber, on the front of which the lion was carved might probably have been restored with perfect certainty if we had been able to devote more time to the examination. It was, according to Mr. Blunt's measurement, twenty-four feet broad, and at least two columns supported the roof, forming a sort of aisle at each side of the chamber. Mr. Blunt has drawn on Pl. XIX. the back of the chamber and the single column which remains in position. The form of the pedestal and the general character of this column resemble the Mycenaean fragment drawn by Donaldson (*Suppl. Antiq. of Athens*; see also Blouet, *Expl. de Pelop.*, Pls. 70 and 71), and the remarkable capital shows a similar tendency to quaint fantastic ornament. I have no notes on the internal decoration of this tomb, and it happened that in this one case I did not compare the drawing with the original: the reader has therefore even a better opportunity of judging than I have from the tracing of his drawing that Mr. Blunt has kindly sent me.

It was no doubt the action of water that has destroyed this tomb. The lion-tomb, which is still complete, and the Midas-tomb will both be ruined by the same agency before many decades have passed. A large crack down the middle of each proves where the water is slowly forcing the rock asunder. One beautiful tomb, described by Leake (p. 22), is now almost utterly destroyed, and every rock in the two necropoleis shows the power of this disintegrating agent.

To the remarkable analogies with early Mycenaean work which have just been noticed, another may be added of a less striking but not less important character.¹ The contrast between the fine work of the Lion Gateway and of the Treasuries and the rudeness of the reliefs excavated by Dr. Schliemann has often been remarked. Those who consider the tombs discovered in his excavations to be late use the discrepancy as an argument in their favour; while others explain the sepulchral reliefs as

¹ Athenaeus mentions that the tumuli of Laconia were popularly called the graves τῶν μετὰ Πέλοπος Φρυγῶν.

the unskilful imitation by native workmen of the foreign art seen on the gateway (Overbeck, *Gesch.* p. 32). In Phrygia we are struck with a similar discrepancy. While the head of the broken lion will bear comparison with any product of archaic art for the truth and energy with which animal life is represented, and all the other reliefs we have mentioned show considerable training and skill, yet side by side with them we find numerous examples where animals are represented in the rudest possible style. These works do not show merely an early stage of archaic art, they are the clumsy attempts of unskilled workmen to imitate a type that they had seen. In this case also it might be considered that these rude animals were carved in later time after the model of the genuine archaic work. At first I hesitated between this view and another, but finally I came to the conclusion that all are ancient. When a visit to Athens had shown me the double analogy with Mycenae, this conclusion was still further strengthened. But we cannot apply Overbeck's theory in this case, and suppose that immigrants to Phrygia carved the finer works, which were imitated by native workmen, for Phrygian art is superior to that of the neighbouring countries: I should rather recognise the finer reliefs as the work of a trained and exclusive caste, and this caste must certainly have been the priests.

As an example of these ruder carvings, we give here (Pl. XX.) the reliefs on the two sides of a ram, much larger than life size, which Sir Charles Wilson and I found among the Turkish graves near the village of Kumbet. It was then lying on its side, and half imbedded in the earth. On arriving at the village in November our first visit was paid to the ram. With the help of two villagers, a pickaxe, and a long log of wood to serve as lever, we succeeded in setting the ram on his tail; but the character of the ground and the disposition of the grave-stones made it impossible to place him on his feet. The animal is represented in the simplest possible fashion, being only a rectangular block of stone, 4 feet 9 inches long, 2 feet 6 inches high, and 1 foot thick, with the head projecting at one corner. The art of the Phrygian sculptor had not yet attained power enough to set the animal free from the mass of stone; he is still imprisoned in it, and has the appearance of trying in vain to get free from his stone fetters. Except the projecting head

and neck, every detail is represented in relief on the sides of the block. The vertical edges are slightly carved to represent legs, and are a little relieved from the sides of the block: but no distinction is indicated where the body of the animal ends and the mass of stone between the four legs begins. The tail is the broad flat tail of the country sheep: this and the horns are the only distinctive marks that remain to indicate the kind of animal intended, as the rest of the head is hopelessly mutilated.

On the one flank of this animal are carved three objects, which are probably intended to represent long-horned goats; on the other side are two horsemen, and two birds in the air above the horses. The subject is doubtless a hunt; and similar scenes are represented on some of the Mycenaean tombstones. Close to the Midas-tomb is a grave, entered by a small door high up in a perpendicular rock. On the face of this rock are carved a number of horsemen very similar in style to those on the ram. Several of them are in an attitude like that of the horses on one of Dr. Schliemann's tombstones, which look as if they were trying to climb up a vertical line. But these reliefs are so rude and so void of character, that it is difficult to say much about them.

Near the two lion-tombs, is one which has been referred to above as showing a closer analogy with the Midas-tomb than any other work of Phrygian art. It was almost wholly buried when we found it, and the efforts of four workmen did not uncover it sufficiently to show its depth or the character of the ornamentation in the lower part; I made a drawing of all that was disclosed, and added a little at the foot which could be restored with certainty from the upper part. This drawing formed the model for Mr. Blunt's skilful pencil to work on in England, and the result is given on Plate XXI. A.¹

The ornamentation of this tomb should be compared with that of two other Phrygian monuments. The first of these is a cave cut in the hillside, a little south of the rock-sculptures in the Midas city. The sides and roof of this cave are covered with a chess-board pattern of small squares, alternately sunk and in

¹ The squares are of $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Accurate measurements of these ornamented tombs would show the relation of the unit of measurement to Greek and

oriental standards. My impression is that two fundamental lengths are used, one about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the other about $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, showing a ratio of 2 to 3.

relief. Such a pattern is occasionally used on early vases; and an example occurs on a small Cypriote vase now in my possession. The second monument is of course the Tomb of Midas, of which Texier's representation is sufficiently accurate for comparison: as it combines the maeander with rows of crosses, so our tomb combines the chess-board pattern with similar rows of crosses. This style of ornamentation has already often been counted an imitation of oriental carpets (see *e.g.* Reber,¹ *Kunstgesch.* p. 166). Curtius has shown how these carpets were the teachers of a new style of ornamentation for vases and other purposes in the west, and has seen even in the Lions of Mycenae an imitation of the symmetrically-placed animals that are sometimes worked into them (see *Wappengebr.* p. 99, and the modification of the theory in *Arch. Bronzereh. a. Olymp.* p. 23). It appears that such ornate hangings were used in the worship of Cybele and Attys (Foucart, *Assoc. Relig.* p. 196), and even in the cultus of Kora at Mantinea (Foucart, *Inscr. Méd. de Mantin.* p. 9). In the latter case, Curtius (*Arch. Bronz.* 22) understands that, when the priestess ἐσκέπασεν τὰ ἱερὰ μυστήρια, she hung in front of them an oriental carpet.² It is not fanciful to use this last custom in illustration of the carved front of the Phrygian tombs. The dead man too is a god, and his sanctuary is hidden from view behind the carpet of rock. It is well known that the religion of the mysteries was closely connected with the cultus of the dead.

Tombs of this character are apparently confined to Phrygia: no example has ever been found outside of this corner of the Sangarius Valley. It may therefore be considered an idea original to the Phrygians to use the oriental style of ornamentation in this way. The making of similar carpets is still an art native to some of the Phrygian cities; and the beauty and accuracy of the work on these tombs suggest that the art was already practised in the early period. The tombs of this style are fully worthy of the period that produced the head of the lion which has been described, and the resemblance of the pediment in the two tombs beside one another in this

¹ Reber's idea about the tent of nomadic Phrygians is quite untenable.

² Robes of similar pattern were worn (see Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* i. p. 572),

and examples might be quoted from early Greek art: the peplos of Kora at Mantinea was of this character (Fouc. *l.c.*).

necropolis, suggests that they were made about the same time.

In these remarks frequent reference has been made to a large class of Phrygian tombs which show the influence of Greek art, and which have been well discussed by M. Perrot. Examples may be found in Perrot, Pl. 7, and Texier, Pls. 60-1. They belong to the period when Greek art was becoming known to the Phrygians, but had not yet completely established itself. None of them therefore can be much later than 300 B.C. On the other hand, Greek art could not begin to affect Phrygia before the time when the Mermnad kings had opened up Lydia to western influence, and had extended their kingdom to the Halys, in 585 B.C. Between the two limits we must place this class of tombs. The grave had always been a sanctuary, and it was now modelled after the Greek temple. In a late example (Texier, Pl. 60), the front is a correct Doric façade, whose columns have a strong entasis, while the echinus is slightly more curved than in the Parthenon capitals. Texier's plate is not trustworthy on these details.

It is easy to distinguish three periods in the ornamentation of the Phrygian tombs—

I. The period of sculpture in relief.

II. The period of geometrical ornamentation and of inscriptions.

III. The architectural period, under the influence of Greek art.

To these we may add—

IV. The Roman period.

V. The Christian period.

Of these, the fourth is of little interest, and the fifth, though represented by a large number of elaborate monuments, lies beyond the scope of this article. But any future expedition would do well to pay more attention to the Christian monuments than we could do in our hurried visit. Numberless churches, chapels, tombs, and at least one large wall-painting exist in the rocks side by side with the monuments of the old Phrygian religion. It is not improbable that these are the works of the hermits, whose religion was characterised by the same enthusiasm and *abandon* as the religion of Cybele and Attya: and it is certain that a survey of these monuments would add much to the history of early Christian architecture.

The order in which these periods of Phrygian art have been enumerated represents I believe the actual chronological succession in which they were developed, though of course they overlap one another. The sculptures in relief are manifestly modelled after the older oriental civilisation of Cappadocia. Pteria, the capital of the oriental monarchy east of the Halys, was in regular communication with the kingdoms of western Asia Minor: the wonderful sculptures of its rock-sanctuary and the great circumference of its massive walls mark it as a city of the Oriental type. Its art can be traced in a series of unmistakable examples over Galatia (see Perrot, *Voy. Arch. en Gal. &c.* Plates 10 and 32) and Phrygia to Mount Sipylus and the shores of the Aegean. The style of these monuments is everywhere the same, strongly marked and unmistakable: but in addition to the peculiar style, some of them are accompanied by inscriptions in the same hieroglyphs which can still be seen on the rocks of Pteria.¹

But Phrygian art, though learned from Cappadocia, has a character of its own. The Phrygians had something of the Greek genius, and were not mere slavish imitators. In several cases we shall find them modifying the conventional type that had been handed over to them, in a way that shows genuine observation of nature and a clear conception of the object which they are trying to represent as they had seen it in nature.

In the second period Phrygian art is at its best. The geometrical designs on the faces of some tombs, forty to seventy feet in height, are cut with wonderful accuracy and skill: and the effect of each monument as a whole is very fine. The Phrygians had advanced beyond the hieratic art which they learned from Cappadocia, developed new forms, and employed oriental types in new combinations. Such a state of art bears witness to a period of power and prosperity. The remains of the city of the Midas-necropolis likewise prove that it was a large and important place, and we must consider that this period is that of the Phrygian empire spoken of by tradition and by semi-traditional history. The few facts that have come down to us show that the seventh century was a time of calamity for the

¹ Mr. Dennis's discovery of the 'Niobe' was a very important step hieroglyphic inscription beside the in our knowledge.

Phrygians. The Cimmerian invasion, which devastated Asia Minor, broke their power, and their king Midas, in the true oriental style, committed suicide, as his kingdom was destroyed in 696 (Eusebius) or 676 (Africanus). After this the Phrygians gradually fell under Lydian power, and finally in 585 their relation to the east was dissolved, and their connection with the west established by treaty. These facts point to the conclusion that the development of their highest art must belong to the eighth century rather than to the seventh; a civilisation might persist after it had been already attained, but could not be first originated, during a time of disaster and war. From a quite different point of view, I have reached the same conclusion in discussing the Phrygian alphabet (*Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.* 1882).

In conclusion, I may add that the first result of our expedition has been to trace with some approach to definiteness the history of a city hitherto unknown, and of a civilisation which was as yet only guessed at. In the following part I shall attempt to describe this civilisation at a further point of its progress towards the Peloponnesus.

There remain several large monuments in this district, the entrance to which has still to be discovered. The wish expressed long ago by Perrot (*Voy. Archéol.* p. 148), that a scientific expedition should be sent to explore this part of Phrygia, must still be repeated more earnestly than before. The results which we have brought home with us are only the first-fruits, though they suffice to show how important a proper study of the Phrygian monuments is for the history of early Greek civilisation. The time at our disposal was too short for us to make any proper examination of the necropoleis. On my first visit in May we encamped for two nights beside the tomb of Midas, and one night at Kumbet, but this time was just enough to learn the geography of the widely scattered necropolis. In November we spent five nights at Kumbet and four at Ayazeen, making drawings and photographs of the various tombs, and exploring, as far as our time allowed, the country. We found the city of the former necropolis, that of the latter still remains to be discovered. Time is absolutely necessary for a proper exploration, and there is little doubt that much still remains in the mountainous tract that extends between Afium Kara Hissar, Beyad, Seid-el-Ghazi, Kutayah, and Altyntash. This

district is still practically unknown. No trade route traverses it, and only an expedition for scientific purposes would enter it. On the maps it is a blank, and only the lucky chance that Leake heard of the sculptured rock of Midas and diverged from the direct road to visit it, brought one corner of the district to the knowledge of the world. The scenery is very beautiful, and so far as I know it the character of the country is much the same throughout—winding fir-clad valleys bordered by perpendicular cliffs. The inhabitants are exceedingly few, and little can be learned from them about the antiquities of the district; they are both ignorant of what one wants to see, and very suspicious of the stranger. But a few days' residence and a little kindness and backshish makes them friendly and interested; and there is no danger to be apprehended from disorderly characters. The time of the year for an expedition would be to arrive not earlier than June 15th, and spend the summer and early autumn. The climate is very cold for a great part of the year. By the end of October the thermometer falls below the freezing point every evening, though we had bright, warm, sunny days in the middle of November. The spring is apparently always wet and stormy, and the east winds of Great Britain are not to be compared for biting bitter severity with the north winds of Asia Minor. But I could not imagine a more delightful way of spending the summer than an excursion in this part of Phrygia with a tent and some few appliances for examining properly the rock-tombs. The idea has been spread by various recent books that travel in Asia Minor is accompanied by terrible hardships, but such has not been my experience. With a little knowledge of the possibilities of the situation and a little prudence, a party travels with great comfort at an exceedingly moderate rate.

There are few countries where an expedition could do such useful work as in Phrygia, Galatia, and Cappadocia. In this border-land between Greek and Oriental civilisation, both Hellenists and Orientalists are equally interested: and I have already pointed out how much our knowledge of Christian antiquities would be increased by a properly equipped expedition. Why should not the three classes unite and send out a new expedition which should spend six months in these countries? We might guarantee, for example, that the geo-

graphy of ancient Cappadocia, now a *terra incognita*, would be laid down with perfect certainty; the material in the Peutinger, Antonine, and Jerusalem itineraries, is infinitely more rich for Cappadocia than for all the rest of Asia Minor put together. With the geography, history and art would be enriched, and it would then become possible to write for the first time a connected history of the development of Asia Minor. The march of the Ten Thousand, the route of Manlius, the journeys of St. Paul, are all equally in need of elucidation.¹ All that is required for this expedition is combination and some effort to begin with. England has often been the pioneer in opening up new fields of study and exploration. A great opportunity now presents itself, and it will not present itself long.

¹ In an article, "Trois Villes Phrygiennes," in the *Bullet. Corr. Hellen.*, I have gathered some new facts about the early spread of Christianity in Phrygia.

PART II.—SIPYLOS AND CYBELE.

“ Und jenen Sängern zu Smyrna, Phokäa, Kyme, Neonteichos, Larissa lag immer der majestätische Sipylos vor Augen mit seinen Felsenhöhen und Abgründen, mit seinen Quellen und kleinen Seen, mit der Erinnerung und Mahnung grosser Erdrevolutionen und Zerstörung reichen irdischen Segens und menschlichen Glückes. So ist denn hier das Bild eines Himmels auf Erden, eines zum Himmel strebenden Menschenglückes, aber auch das Bild eines überkühnen Hochmuthes und göttlichen Strafgerichtes vor allen lokal befestigt worden.” These words of Stark (*Niobe*, p. 409) well describe the peculiar fascination that the splendid mountain still exercises on one that lives under its shadow, and the ever-growing interest with which one returns to its past history. The least satisfactory part of Stark's excellent work is precisely that which treats of Niobe in Sipylos (98-109 and 403-46). It suffers from the lack of trustworthy information about the district.¹ Even after he had himself had the opportunity of seeing for a few hours the so-called “Niobe,” and had recognised in it *ein Gebilde alter heimischer, in den phrygischen Bildwerken der Göttermutter vielfach sich später aussprechenden Kunst und eines tiefen Naturgefühls*, his rationalising treatment of the myth (*Nach d. Gr. Orient*, pp. 231-54) is very unsatisfactory. We are to believe that a powerful empire under a king Tantalus existed here, that his capital was destroyed by an earthquake, and his empire ruined by an Assyrian invasion (Stark's account seems to waver between the two and finally to adopt both explanations), that his son went down to the seaport of the empire and sailed away to find an empire and a bride ready for him in Greece. Though a poetic and fervid imagination, stimulated by the charm of the wonderful Sipylos, has made Stark's account a seductive picture, yet it

¹ In the almost complete ignorance of Asia Minor, which has up to the present time prevailed, scholars were forced to begin from Greece, and attempt to define the legends and history of Asia Minor by its relations

to the early history of Greece. It is now certain that as Asia Minor becomes more known, the procedure will be reversed, and its antiquities form a point of departure for the determination of early Greek history.

requires only a statement of the theory in its bare outlines to show how uncritical it is. It will not do to take the myth in its latest form, cut out the gods and the miraculous element, and fancy that we have then got history: nowhere but in the fairy-land of Sipylos would such a proceeding have commended itself to Stark's intellect. In the older forms of the myth we hear nothing of an empire and ships and sudden ruin; Pelops goes over the sea in a chariot; Tantalus deceives the gods and is punished in Tartaros; Niobe weeps for her twelve children slain by the cruel shafts of the sun-god, but is comforted again. Such are the legends we have to deal with. We must take another path, and we shall begin by trying to understand exactly the actual remains in the mountain, the civilisation to which they bear witness, and their relation to the neighbouring races of Asia Minor.

It would of course be absurd to suppose that every popular tale and every poetic fancy which has grown around the heroic names and the religion of Sipylos, should find material counterpart in the actual features of the mountain. The tales of Tantalus and Niobe had run through a long development before the earliest reference to them which we possess was written, and the moralised form in which the great tragedians had set forth the legends reacted on the local tradition. There are two extremes to avoid. On the one hand, we shall not expect to find here the table on which Pelops was served up to the gods, nor the throne on which he sat; nor shall we expect that a city, Tantalís, situated on the highest peak of Sipylos, *πατρὶς θεῶν*, was by an earthquake swallowed up in a lake which suddenly appeared there. On the other hand, *τὰ περὶ Σίπυλον μῦθον οὐ δεῖ τίθεσθαι* (Str. p. 590).

In the hieratic legend of the destruction by Apollo of Niobe's children Aeschylus had seen a picture of the instability of earthly bliss. The earthquakes to which the country is subject, the precipitous character of the mountain, and the tremendous ravines in it, co-operated to produce a rationalistic background to the legend. The sudden fall from the pinnacle of human power and happiness to destruction, what was that to a thinking Greek mind but a reflection of the sudden ruin of a great and powerful city by a terrible physical convulsion? It is characteristic of the euhemerising stage of thought that another

explanation, ruin through a foreign invasion, was advanced alongside of the former, without any inconsistency being perceived. But it is quite certain that the legend was not originally a moral one, and that in trying to disengage the historical and religious elements that underlie it, we must set aside the views of a later period. Such legends give in their own way a faithful picture of the early life, provided we can attain to the proper point of view: like all pictures taken direct from nature they contain implicit meanings of which the original artists had no conception, and which later thinkers like Aeschylus have developed, but we must beware of attributing to an early period what belongs to a later stage of thought. Too little is known of the early history and the local legends of Sipylos, and of the cultus of Magnesia and Smyrna, but in spite of these drawbacks there are few cases where the growth of a legend from the original religious and historical surroundings to the perfect form in tragedy and sculpture can be so fully traced as in the myth which was carried from Sipylos to the Peloponnesus and attained its final development at the hands of Aeschylus and Scopas.

On the northern slope of Sipylos, about four miles east of Magnesia, are many traces of a very ancient city,—sepulchral tumuli, rock-cut tombs, and a small acropolis perched high on an almost inaccessible peak. On both sides of it are the sanctuaries of its religion: on the west a rock-cut image of Cybele, on the east the hot springs and sacred cave of a god called by the Greeks Apollo.¹ The old citadel is placed, not away in the centre of trackless mountains on the peak of Sipylos, but on a strong point of the mountain overlooking the plain. Sipylos rises in an almost perpendicular wall of limestone to a height of 2,000 feet above the level of the Hermus valley. Ascending this mountain wall at the few places where it can be scaled, one finds a deep-lying glen, beyond which is a still higher range of mountains. At one point this front wall of rock has been cleft as if by some terrible convulsion of nature, right down

¹ Most of the misapprehensions that prevail about the district result from an examination of part of the district and a neglect of the rest. It is exceedingly hard work to climb about the rugged mountains, and a proper ex-

amination requires a long time. I believe that I have seen more of the district than any one but the wood-cutters, but there are still many places I have not examined.

to the level of the Hermus valley. A narrow ravine about 100 feet broad, with perfectly perpendicular sides, pierces right into the heart of the mountain, and through it comes a little stream from the plain behind. The torrent has worn for itself this path through the limestone rock; but the ravine, which is one of the most remarkable I have ever seen, and possessed of a magnificent echo, would naturally be considered by the ancients to be the result of a great earthquake, such as are common in this district. Modern travellers also, coming with the preconceived thought in their minds, have sometimes been led to the same conclusion; but I think that a more careful examination would have convinced them that the ravine is merely water-worn.¹ On the western edge of this ravine, half-way up the mountain-wall of Sipylos, is a curious crag which stands out from the mass of the mountain. On one side it is possible from its summit to drop a stone 900 feet into the ravine; on all other sides it rises with perpendicular face 100 feet from the mountain. A little cleft in the rock slopes up the western side: it is overgrown with bushes, and a cliff, which at the first glance would seem inaccessible, can thus be easily climbed. At the foot of the cleft there was at one time a wall made of rough masses of stone, evidently a defence for the only weak point of the rock: access was no doubt afforded to the inhabitants by a staircase which has now disappeared. On the top are numerous rock-cuttings, seven or eight large bell-shaped cisterns, twenty or thirty beds for the foundations of houses such as are common on the rocky hills of Athens, and in some places a parapet wall about three feet high, cut out of the solid rock along the edge of the dizzy precipice. This rock fortress shows close resemblance to the one near the Tomb of Midas, described above, Part I., and may be compared with another smaller and more accessible one beside Heracleia ad Sipylum, described in this Journal, Oct. 1881, p. 297.

The upper surface of this crag, measuring about 100 yards in length by 15 or 20 in breadth, is so steep that it is quite as difficult to examine it as it is to climb up the side. On the very

¹ I should not have ventured, in opposition to the usual opinion, to state thus boldly what seemed true to my non-geological eye, had I not

consulted Sir C. Wilson on the point. Stark and others have drawn large inferences from its supposed volcanic origin.

pinnacle, in a smooth surface of rock inclined at an angle of about 45° , there is a square-cut hole that looks like a large seat or shelf, 5 feet long, 3 feet from front to back, and 3 feet high at the back. Originally it probably served some religious purpose: the lofty commanding position and the probability that the fortress would have some sanctuary in it point to this conclusion. If it could be a grave, we might consider it that of the tutelary hero of the city, but I have never seen a grave of the kind. It seems to me more likely to have been an altar on which offerings were placed.¹

As to the pottery found here, abundance of broken tiles like those on all sites in the district are scattered over the surface: along with these are fragments of vases of common red ware. I picked up also one small piece of a vase of a style common in the district, red glaze inside, and black glaze of the ordinary Hellenic style outside.

Three hundred yards east of the ravine, beyond some artificial tumuli, is a very beautiful tomb cut in a sloping rock at the foot of the mountain. This tomb has been drawn very badly by Steuart (*Ancient Monuments*, Pl. II.): in Herr Humann's paper above quoted, a beautiful drawing of it may be found. Its considerable size, the elaborate flight of steps which lead up to it, and the curious way in which a deep trench has been cut in the rock behind it as if to separate the whole monument from the hill, make it one of the most remarkable rock-tombs that I have seen. It stands in marked contrast to the usual Lydian sepulchral tumuli, and shows an equally marked resemblance to the Phrygian tombs: the fine flight of steps is not unlike the approach to a Phrygian rock-hewn house at Kumbet.

Half a mile east of the tomb is a hot spring, where the water gushes from the foot of the mountain at several points. This spot was, like all such springs, a holy place. Over one of the most abundant sources is a niche about 10 feet high cut in a perpendicular rock (Fig. 8). The foot of the niche is about 10 feet above the ground, but a set of holes cut to give grip for hand and foot makes it quite easy to climb up. The arrangement of the niche is peculiar, so that I add a sketch representing what

¹ For further details see the account published last year by Herr Humann. The fortress has also been briefly

described by M. Weber, *Les Sipylos*, Appendix.

I conceive to be the original arrangement: the actual state does not show the sharp and well marked forms seen in the drawing. Beside the springs is a large irregular mound full of fragments of pottery: it is probable that it conceals some remains of a temple of the Greek period. This spot is doubtless the seat of Apollo *ἐν Πάνδοις*, one of the gods by whom the Magnesians swore (*C. I. G.* 3137). This particular Apollo is a god whose seat is outside the city of Magnesia at a place called Pandoi, and who is yet one of the holiest gods of the

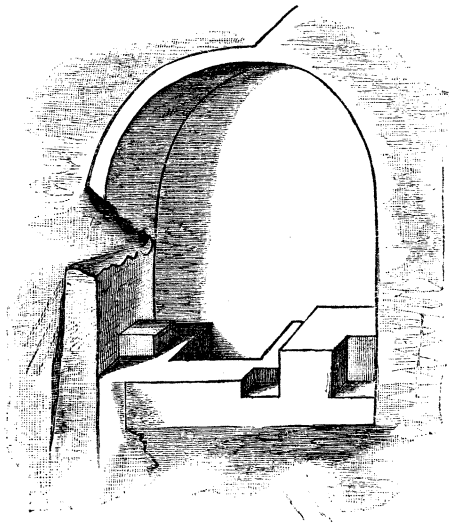


FIG. 8.—NICHE OF APOLLO.

city: in other words he is one of the gods of a former religion whom the Greeks adopted when they settled in Magnesia. Apollo was the god to whom hot springs are most frequently dedicated. There miles west of Smyrna is a similar hot spring which was likewise sacred to Apollo.¹

On the slope of the mountain half a mile west of the acropolis is another sanctuary of this primitive people. Various little niches and rock-cuttings around show that the hand of man

¹ Strabo, p. 645. We shall speak of this identification more fully hereafter.

was active here, but none of them have character enough to detain us. The interest of the locality centres in the rock-cut image, in a niche half natural, half artificial, which is generally known as the 'Niobe.' Its importance for the proper understanding of the old city will detain us for a considerable time.¹

I need not describe again this figure, which has already been so often described. It is the product of an art so unskilful and so rude, the limestone out of which it is cut is so liable to decay, that it has to be mentally restored to some extent before it can be understood. But when observers, very different in previous training yet all practised in antiquarian research, such as Dennis, Hirschfeld, Sayce, and Stark² are all agreed in recognising a woman seated in a throne with hands laid on her breast, it is needless to take divergent opinions into account. At the level where the chair seems to rest on a basis of rock, a perpendicular groove about 18 inches high separates two projecting evidently artificial objects (*fussklötzen*, Stark). On the rock sculptures of Pteria an exactly similar groove divides the two hills on which the feet of the great gods or of the animals which support them are placed; and in the monument of Sipylos it is impossible to mistake the analogy. But on the two mountains no trace of feet can now be seen: whether the sculptor thought that the two mountains were a sufficient indication of the two feet, or whether (as is more probable) feet planted on the mountain tops were once indicated in relief, it is now impossible to tell.

The art shown in this figure is less skilful than that in any other rock-hewn monument I have seen in Asia Minor, yet its

¹ The best representation of it that I have seen is the drawing by Mr. Simpson in the *Illustrated London News*, January 1880. The simple woodcut gives almost every important detail with much greater distinctness than any photograph I have seen. Photographs often give a very inadequate idea of rock sculptures; details visible from one point and in one state of the light are not visible from another point and in another state of the light; and the apparatus can often

not be placed at the only good point of view. When in addition to all these difficulties the figure is on the north side of a projecting cliff and totally in shade, the usefulness of the photograph is still further impaired.

² For Stark's opinion one will of course turn, not to *Niobe*, p. 102, but to *Nach d. Gr. Orient*, p. 250; Hirschfeld in *Curt. Beitr. Gesch. Kleinas*, p. 83. Sayce and Dennis in *Acad.* 1880-1.

likeness to the series of Lydian and Phrygian monuments is so great that only one conclusion is possible;¹ and the hieroglyphic inscription lately described by Mr. Dennis² in the rocks beside it makes it certain that the figure is one of a series that extends from Cappadocia over Phrygia and Lydia down to the Aegean Sea. The style of these symbols resembles closely those which are placed beside many of the figures at Pteria, and the mode of carving them in a little panel sunk just enough to give the necessary relief is exactly that which is employed in the rock sculptures beside the Midas tomb (see above, Part I.). It is easy to see why the art is here so rude. The sculptor has tried a new method of work: instead of the simple relief which is usual in the rock sculptures, he has made the figure almost in the round, and has not skill enough to cope with difficulties to which he was unaccustomed. There is here none of the certainty and firmness with which a traditional type was cut on the rocks in Phrygia; we have a not very successful attempt to work in a new style. Similarly Benndorf³ has pointed out how much more skilfully the traditional type of the Gorgoneion was carved at Selinus than the other sculptures beside it, and Milchhöfer has observed in the Laconian reliefs representing Hades and Chthonia a series of reproductions of one traditional type derived from older wooden xoana (*Mittheil. Inst. Ath.* ii. 452). Throughout Phrygia and Cappadocia those figures are the rudest where the sculptor has tried to represent life in the round.

What was the goddess who is here represented? We should expect Cybele, the Mother of Sipylos, by whom both the cities of Magnesia and of Smyrna swore (*C. I. G.* 3137). We do not recognise any of the usual symbols of the goddess, the lion, the tympanon, or the phiale: the modius or the mural crown may have once adorned her head, but it is now too much worn to speak with certainty. But the artist had not sufficient power over the stone to render any of these attributes; he could not do anything except represent the outline of the figure cut out square from the stone,⁴ and give one or two details in relief. Nor was anything beyond this needed for his purpose. He did

¹ Stark, *Niobe*, p. 105-6; *Nach. d. Gr. Or.* p. 251.

² The inscription was observed by Stark, *Orient*, p. 251.

³ *Metopen von Selinunt*, p. 63.

⁴ The same square forms instead of round, which were described above in the Phrygian ram, meet us here also.

not aim at, he had no thought of, making the figure impressive from its style and beauty. He depended on its appealing to the religious feeling of worshippers who knew what to look for. His art did not enable him to release the goddess's arms from their prison of stone and place in them symbols, as at Euyuk and Boghazkeui where the figures are only in relief. But he could show the arms and hands crossing the bosom and resting on the breasts of the all-nourishing mother. He could indicate by placing her feet on the two mountains the favourite haunts of the goddess, who was at home on every high hill. This he has done; it was enough to tell worshippers what he wished they should understand, and it is enough to reveal to us also the Mother goddess.

No figure has been discovered in Cappadocia which can be directly compared with the figure of Meter Sipylene. But the accompanying drawing (Fig. 9) shows a figure remarkably like it, and explains how a type known both at Euyuk and at Boghazkeui was modified into the statue on Sipylos. This monument is in Phrygia on the very rampart of the Midas-city described in Part I., between the Midas-tomb and the rock-sculptures. A flight of broad low steps leads up to a remarkable cut stone, which has evidently been the object of worship—a sacred symbol like that which appears on the coins of Perga or that in the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos, about the character and meaning of which Tacitus could get no information (*Hist.* ii. 3). At the left side of the steps is a figure carved in the rock, which is marked by the phiale in the left hand as an image of Cybele. The very name which the goddess bore in this district is given by an inscription over a rock-altar; it begins *matar kubile*. The right hand and the lower part of the figure have been completely defaced. The face is simply a flat disc on which no features have ever been carved. The knees project so as to form a flat square lap. The square-cut shoulders and knees, the peculiar appearance of the lap, made us at once exclaim, 'We have found a new "Niobe."'

If we compare the figures of Cybele in Phrygia and in Sipylos with the sitting deities of Cappadocia, we find that the latter are always represented in profile. Two occur at Boghazkeui, but are very much worn and are not given in M. Perrot's work. Two others occur at Euyuk: one may be seen in Perrot's

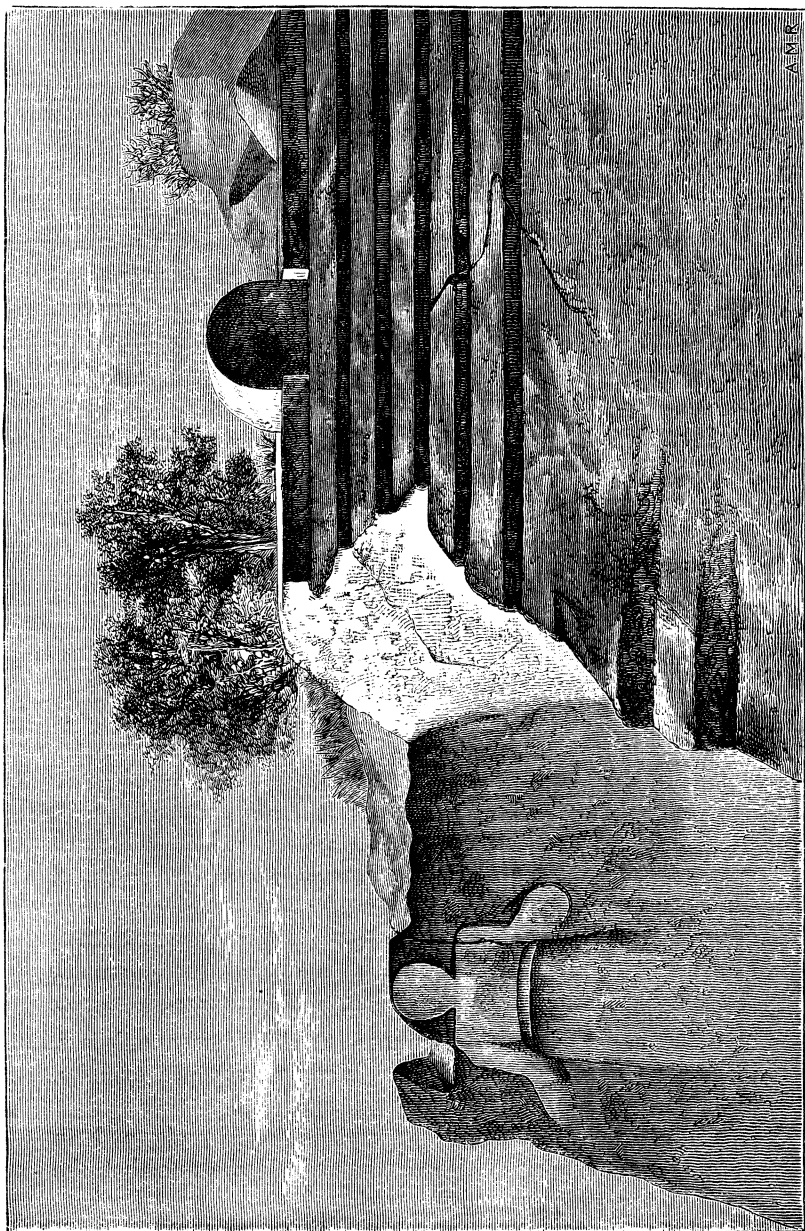


FIG. 9.

Voy. Archéol. Pl. 66; the other, precisely similar in style and attitude, is on a very interesting slab which Sir C. Wilson made the villagers turn over on our visit during last summer. The deity on Perrot's plate sits holding out in the right hand a cup: Perrot calls the object a flower, but after careful examination I had no doubt that it was a cup. The left hand raises some object towards the face. The deity on the slab which we disclosed was unluckily so much disfigured that the objects in her hands were not distinguishable.

There must have been some reason why the Phrygian art preferred to give the sitting goddess in full face. Perhaps it was that in this attitude the goddess seems more life-like and more motherly and familiar, less like a merely ornamental figure. Perhaps the aim was that the priests might lay gifts on the lap of the goddess, as in the *Iliad*—

πέπλον ἐλούσα Θεανὸ καλλιπάρῃος
θῆκεν Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἡυκόμοιο.

We may assume that the knees of the Trojan Athene were like the square stiff lap of the Phrygian Cybele, or like that of the Athene on the Acropolis in Athens, and it is exceedingly probable that the Trojan custom was one usual in Asia Minor.

The Phrygian figure of Cybele has been carved in very simple style. An outline was marked and the rock cut away all round to the depth of about two inches. The knees project four inches beyond the rest of the figure.¹ On the perfectly flat surface of the figure no details of face or dress are marked. The work is much ruder than anything in the rocks around; in his alteration of the old type the artist was forced to work tentatively, and his sureness of hand deserted him. He has placed a symbol in the left hand, which he could do by simple relief: and he has given the goddess the phiale, which was a general characteristic of Phrygian deities but which in Greece was specially appropriated to Cybele, who retained Asiatic character very distinctly.² But when his idea was carried

¹ The height of the figure from the top of the head to the lap is 18 inches, the breadth at the lap is 15 inches.

² We shall have occasion below to

speak of the phiale in the hand of Sabazios. On the Zeus of Acmonia and Brouzos, see *Bull. Corr. Hellen.* 1882, 'Trois Villes Phryg.'

out more completely and the figure was more disengaged from the rock, as is the case at Magnesia, no symbols could be placed in the hands without working the arms completely in the round. The artist avoided the difficulty by representing the arms in relief on the breast.

The Phrygian type of Cybele, almost the only rock sculpture of an early time in the country which is not made in evident dependence on the art of Cappadocia, may be thus explained as the alteration of a type employed in the parent art. The alteration in this case is a new instance of the independence with which the Phrygians in some cases developed the traditional forms. We are then able to bring the whole set of hieratic figures in northern Asia Minor into one connected series: and in another place¹ the writer has tried to show that the religion of Phrygia is that which is portrayed on the rocks of Pteria. The types of the different gods were not so definitely fixed in this early art as they were afterwards among the Greeks. The phiale, as an indication of religious character, was placed in the hands of any god or goddess; the idea that a god should be pouring a libation is very common in Asia Minor, and is, in the case of the greater gods, almost confined to that country. The polos or the mural crown was originally a general head-dress marking the wearer as female, and only among the Greeks was it appropriated to certain goddesses. The flower which certain goddesses of Greek art bear was once equally appropriate to all; and the pomegranate belonged once as much to Athene and to Hera as to Aphrodite, till in mythic language Paris adjudged it to the latter.² In archaic Greek art the same type is often used for several different gods; the striding figure which brandishes a weapon in the right hand and holds forth the left³ is found as Poseidon, Zeus Polieus, Athene, &c.; the standing naked male figure represents sometimes an Apollo, sometimes the deified dead man, sometimes an athlete.⁴

The figure of Cybele in Sipylos looks almost due north,

¹ *Phrygia and Cappadocia*, in the *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1882.

² Curtius on Athena Nike, *Arch. Ztg.* 1881.

³ Originally, perhaps, the left hand was empty, afterwards some attribute was placed in it, see Jahn, *Nuov*

Mem. d. Inst. 1865, p. 16; Köhler, *Mith. Inst. Ath.* i. 97; Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* iii. 223.

⁴ Loeschke, *Mith.* IV. p. 304; Conze and Michaelis, *Annali*, 1861, p. 80; Waldstein, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* I.

that in the Midas city almost due east. It is probable that little stress is to be laid on this difference, and that orientation was not so strictly attended to in the primitive period. Both the temples of the Cabiri at Samothrace face the north: so does that of Apollo Epikourios at Phigalia. The direction in which the figure faces was determined by the direction of the cliffs of Sipylos. If any importance could be attached to this altered direction, we may see here the mourning goddess of the winter, separated from her consort the Sun-god whom she can never behold.

The figure at Magnesia is the earliest known example of a hieratic representation of Cybele common among the Greeks. The goddess sits in a niche or naiskos, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by one or more figures, among whom is Hermes-Cadmilos, the Grecised form of her favourite and companion Atys. In ruder examples she sits in stiff fashion, holding in one hand the tympanon, in the other the phiale. Besides her are generally one or two lions. In more artistic examples she has laid aside the symbols which give such unnatural stiffness to the ruder figures, and often caresses with one hand the lion, which climbs up her knee or lies in her lap. In some cases the lion serves her as footstool, in other cases two sit in stiff symmetry on each side of her throne. Curtius has published an example of the most developed type, which he attributes, probably with justice, to the worship of the Ephesian Artemis. It is not surprising to find the Artemis of Ephesus represented in the same style as Cybele.¹

It is not part of my design to speak of the relation between the art of Cappadocia and that of the far east: on this subject I have no right to express an opinion. But since we have traced the figure of Cybele across the Halys, over the Aegean sea into Greece, and have seen the gradual development of its symbolism and the final transformation of the stiff symbolism into artistic grace, it is tempting to compare the sitting goddess of Cappadocia with the Assyrian queen, whose charming figure is to be found in Canon Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, I. 494. The queen wears a head-dress which Canon Rawlinson aptly compares with the mural crown of Cybele: the hieratic

¹ Curtius, *Mith. Inst. Ath.* ii. 48. Conze, *Hermes-Kadmilos*, *Arch. Ztg.*
See a full list of examples of this class, 1880, p. 1.

ornament of Asia Minor is an ordinary feminine head-dress in the East. She sits on a high-backed chair with a narrow seat, and her feet, like those of the goddess of Cappadocia, are placed on a footstool. It is most probable that the Assyrian queen is a developed form of the same type from which the goddess of Asia Minor was derived.

What was the race whose stronghold and sanctuaries we have been describing? Tradition which can be traced back to the beginning of Greek literature localises here the same names which we find in the legends of the Achaeans and the Pelopidae; and we must therefore conclude that a kindred and semi-Greek race lived here. Yet the influence of the oriental religion and art of Cappadocia is equally conspicuous: and we must admit that there had already taken place that union of native Indo-European with oriental religion which produced the peculiar worship of Asia Minor. Atys is a representative of the oriental element; Manes, on the other hand, is a purely Indo-European name; and it is probably not too bold to see in Atys, son of Manes, first king of Lydia, and the dynasty that springs from him a mythical embodiment of the old race which occupied the stronghold of Sipylos. These first kings of Lydia could not be connected with Sardis, which is a city of later foundation (Strabo, 626-7): and no place has ever been found in the Hermus valley which has the same claims to be the stronghold of the earliest power in this district as the old city of Sipylos.

We recognise in this ancient city one of those homes of early civilisation, the abode of the primeval first king and first man at once divine and human, like Lycosoura with its Lycaon, like Argos with its Phoroneus. Sipylos is the home of the gods, *πατρὶς θεῶν*, and at the same time the first city and the earliest centre of society, *πρώτη πόλις*.¹ Tantalus, the guest and host of the gods, the son of Zeus, the husband of Dione, is its king: the tale knows neither predecessor nor successor. Tantalus is one of the mythical figures who can with the greatest certainty be proved to belong to the original Graeco-Asiatic cycle of religious legends: he is as much at

¹ Aristides uses this expression not exactly in the sense given above, as Stark understands it (*Niobe*, p. 411), but as the first Smyrna. Still it seems

probable that the religious legend was current in Smyrna, and Aristides puts it in historical form.

home in Argos and in Corinth, as on Sipylos. The form of the name shows its genuine Indo-European character: it is one of those peculiar reduplications which are specially characteristic of Vedic Sanscrit, and Sonne (*Kuhn. Zeitschr.* x. on *Charis*) has with great probability explained it as a name of the Sun-god. The hieratic legend has found a historical setting in the fate of the earliest and most holy city of Lydia, for such the tradition proves Sipylos to be. In this city we have a centre of primitive religion, the importance of which for Greek history can hardly be exaggerated,¹ and which, though it gave way before new and more convenient seats of power, left in tradition and in actual remains very clear evidence of its real character. These remains are a measure of the civilisation of this early period. That house-building was well advanced is proved by the numerous tiles on the acropolis, by the considerable size of the houses of which walls of rock remain in some places ten feet high, and by a peculiarly cut stone the use of which I do not know exactly, but which is almost certainly a part of a roof. Exactly similar stones may be seen on the site of the old city on the pass between Smyrna and Nymphio (*Journ. Hell. Studies*, Vol. I.). In general, the character of the site, the walls of rock, the use of chambers cut in the rock as tombs in contrast to the method universal in later Lydian time of burying in tumuli, remind of Phrygia and make it probable that Sipylos was an early seat of the old Phrygian civilisation, of which the path westward is marked by the religious centres it established, that of Zeus Bennios and the Benneitai at the head-waters of the Tembris, that of Coloe in the Katakekaumene, finally that of Sipylos. At first the form of sepulture which had been suggested by the soft and easily-worked rocks of Phrygia was continued in Lydia, but soon the nature of the country and of the mountains led to the use of tumuli in the Hermus valley and of cairns at Smyrna. Tumuli and cairns are hardly known in Phrygia, but in Cappadocia at the old religious centre of Comana, Sir C. Wilson informs me that cairns exist in great numbers; and we observed several not far beyond the Halys. It is easy to account for the difference of custom by the varying character of the country.

¹ Curtius has described its close relation to the beginnings of Hellenic civilisation, *Relig. Char. of Gr. Coins. Num. Chron.* 1870.

During the period which corresponds to this first Lydian dynasty we must conclude that a homogeneous culture and religion extended from Sipylos over the valleys north and south. Only in this way can it be explained why both Smyrna and Magnesia have the same tutelary goddess during the Greek period and how Tantalus is the legendary founder of the oldest city on the Smyrna gulf. It is, however, very improbable that any empire in the later sense was established on Sipylos. The little acropolis does not look like the seat of an empire such as Aeschylus describes (fr. 155, Dind.):—

Σπείρω δ' ἄρουραν δώδεχ' ἡμερῶν ὁδόν
 Βερέκυντα χῶρον, ἔνθ' Ἀδραστείας ἔδος
 Ἴδη τε μυκηθμοῖσι καὶ βρυχήμασι
 Πρέπουσι μῆλων, πᾶν δ' ὄρεχθέει πέδον.

All analogy leads to the conclusion that such great empires were a growth of later time, and that the town and sanctuaries of Sipylos were, like pre-Hellenic Ephesus and like the great religious centres of Asia Minor such as Pessinus and others, the seat of a priestly suzerainty maintained over the *hierodouloi* of the surrounding district.¹

It is not necessary to suppose, on the contrary it is improbable, that the establishment of the second dynasty was a real revolution in Lydia. It simply marks the stage when growing civilisation and quickened intercourse with the East, facilitated by the formation of a permanent road from Pteria, by Pessinus, Gordium, and the city of the Midas necropolis to the Hermus valley, had raised the people of the valley to the conception of a real kingdom in the oriental sense. The whole history of western Asia Minor, depends on a proper understanding of this 'Royal Road'; and I must refer to another place² for a full discussion of its origin, direction, and relation to the history of Asia Minor. Its existence implies a power in the Hermus valley desirous of maintaining communication with the kingdoms of the East, Phrygia and Cappadocia: and it is a tempting hypothesis to assume that these three events were coincident—the growth of

¹ See Curtius on Ephesus (*Beitr.* 1, ff.); Pessinus and Coloe, whose names were unknown till lately, are the only ones of these priestly centres of which

the cultus and organization are to some extent described by native documents.

² *Phrygia and Cappadocia*, l.c.

a strong central city Sardis, the establishment of a central power which is in legendary history called the Heracleid dynasty, and the making of the 'Royal Road.' It must be observed that Sardis is situated straight opposite the point where the road enters on the level Hermus valley, and is the nearest place where a strong site could be found.

The second or Heracleid dynasty represents this power of Sardis. Its thoughts and connections are entirely turned to the East: its genealogical legends show a purely oriental character. No traditions represent it in intercourse with Greece. From this time Lydia passes out of the sphere of Greek development, and is almost unknown to us; whereas the older race seems in legend hardly distinguishable from the actual Greeks. What was the nature of this connection between the Pelopid Maeonians or Phrygians centred on Sipylos and the inhabitants of Greece, it is difficult to say: the fact is too strongly attested by direct legendary statement and indirect coincidence of names and religious forms to admit of doubt. Lydia again enters into the circle of Greek history when the Heracleid dynasty gives place to a new and apparently native Maeonian family, who break with the East and turn their face to the West.

It is therefore quite probable that the old city of Sipylos existed for some time alongside of Sardis; contemporary powers are often expressed in legendary history as successive dynasties. Though a central power existed at Sardis, it was not a despotic empire like that of the Mermnad dynasty. Gelzer in his articles on early Lydian history¹ has clearly proved this, and has shown that the later kings of the Heracleid dynasty were not strong rulers like Gyges and his successors. But when he assumes that the earlier kings of the dynasty were sovereigns of a more real character, we may ask for proof. The Greek colonists, it is quite clear, met with no powerful enemy, no combination, nothing but local resistance; at every point where we have any evidence we find that the natives resisted the Greeks, and it seems very unlikely that a strong empire at Sardis would have suffered the Hermus valley as far up as Magnesia to pass into Greek hands. Till some proof is found that such an empire existed, it is safer to look on the

¹ *Rh. Mus.* xxx. and xxxv.

powerful Lydian empire as beginning with the Mermnad kings and as springing from the influence of Ionic social organisation. Freedom, individuality, and secular power, were Greek ideas rather than Asiatic: they acted on the natives of Lydia, and the Mermnad dynasty was supported by Carian mercenaries and in intimate relation, pacific or hostile, with the Greek cities.

If we take this view the history of Asia Minor is very simple. The religious influence which emanated from Cappadocia (see *Journ. Roy. As. Soc., l.c.*) spread one strongly marked system of society and government over Phrygia and Lydia: the priests are either the sole rulers or at least equal to the king in authority. The country is divided into many smaller states, each with its own religious centre and perhaps its own feudal chief. Gelzer has proved that this system existed in Lydia (*Rh. Mus.* xxxv. p. 519 ff.), and I have been led to the same supposition about Phrygia (*Trois Villes Phryg., l.c.*). In Lydia a historical account (Nic. Dam. fr. 48) enables us to trace the process by which the Heracleid kings of Sardis became the powerful sovereigns of the whole country, and we see the influence of Greek manners and thoughts underlying it. This influence is in its earliest stage when Ardys takes refuge at Cyme about 770; it grows and finds leaders in one of the great territorial families which finally, about 687 B.C., becomes supreme.

These remarks would be entirely out of place if an Assyrian domination had ever existed in Lydia, as is assumed by Curtius and by Stark. In the middle of the seventh century an Assyrian king speaks of Lydia as a country which his forefathers had never known,¹ and there is nothing in the art and remains of Lydia and Phrygia to point immediately to Assyria as the model.

If the statement of the Greek historians be accepted that the Heracleid dynasty ruled 505 years in Lydia, its establishment in Sardis would date about 1192 B.C. But it is not safe to set much store by this epoch. When Cappadocia is more fully explored, it may become possible to speak more definitely about this early period. But certainly the ruin of the old city and of the priestly rule on Siplyos is not connected with the foundation of Sardis. The Heracleid dynasty was not in antagonism to, but in alliance with, the priestly suzerainties

¹ Smith, *Hist. of Assyria*, p. 146.

of Lydia: and the Greek settlers evidently found the city with its religious system still flourishing. They adopted the religion, but just as elsewhere along the coast, they substituted for priestly rule their freer city organisation; and just as in Ephesus and Smyrna,¹ the conquest of the Greek city by the later Lydian kings meant the restoration of the old priestly rule and the dissolution of the Greek political system. The history of Magnesia is quite unknown, but the analogy of the other cities proves that the opposition between Greek and native rule was a contest of systems and civilisations, a struggle between freedom and priestly rule, between freemen and hiero-douloi.

A new period begins in the history of Sipylos when the nations of the West began to intrude on the coasts of Asia Minor. On a bold and commanding hill which projects from the main range of Sipylos about four miles west of the old city, a rival city was built. Its name, Magnesia, points to Thessaly, but nothing is recorded about its establishment, and no foundation-legend has been preserved to us. The close analogy of early Ephesian history will however make it easy to conceive how the new city gradually supplanted the old, entering into its religious heritage, and maintaining the old cultus of the Mother of Sipylos and of Apollo *ἐν Πάνδοις*. In like manner the Magnesians of the Maeander valley worshipped as their chief deity the native Artemis Leucophryênê, the Ephesian Greeks the Artemis of Ephesus, the Aeolians of Smyrna the Meter Sipyrene. The new settlers would not insult the gods to whom the country belonged: they felt that they must propitiate them with the ceremonies they were accustomed to. The list of gods by whom the Magnesians took an oath to observe the treaty with Smyrna about 245 B.C., is Zeus, Hera, Helios, Ares, Athene Areia, Tauropolos, Meter Sipyrene, Apollo *ἐν Πάνδοις*. The first six are the gods whom they brought with them from Thessaly: the last two are the gods of Sipylos whom they adopted as deities of the land.

The foundation of Magnesia is not connected with the Aeolic immigration, which seems never to have penetrated beyond the Boghaz that divides the lower from the middle Hermus valley. Magnesia was never one of the Aeolic cities; the Magnetes are mentioned separately alongside of Ionians and Aeolians by

¹ Compare Curtius on the early history of Ephesus, *Beitr. Gesch. Kleinas.*

Herodotus iv. 90. It is therefore certain that the Magnesian settlement is later than the Æolian; the Greeks would not have gone so far inland unless they had found the lower Hermus valley already occupied. It is impossible to attain greater definiteness with regard to its date than this, that it was after the Aeolic settlement of Larissa and Smyrna and before the time of Gyges, who had to conquer their city.¹ This was naturally his first attack on the Greeks: the city was the nearest neighbour in the same valley with Sardis.

Yet another change occurred in the centre of power in this district. Magnesia on its steep and high hill was felt to be inconvenient, and a New Magnesia grew in the valley below. The upper town continued to exist as Palai-magnesia: it was the fortress of the district, and when, about 245 B.C., Smyrna obliged the Magnesians to conclude a treaty with them and bind themselves to have the same enemies and friends as Smyrna, one of the conditions was that a Smyrnaean garrison should be stationed in Palai-magnesia. This last change brings us to the position in which the chief city of the district has remained down to the present time.

What evidence, apart from analogy with other seats of Cybele-worship, exists as to the old religion of Sipylus? The name Meter Sipylene, which was usual in Smyrna and occurs frequently on its coins and inscriptions, is not mentioned on coins of Magnesia, but is used in the treaty (*C. I. G.* 3137). This name was therefore familiar in the city: but the peculiarly native name of the Magnesian goddess is given by Pausanias as Meter Plakiane,² like the Cybele Plakiane at Cyzicus. The epithet was doubtless, as at Cyzicus, derived from the name of the particular hill on which the *hieron* is placed. In a district of the Troad where the legend of Niobe was also specially localised (Stark, *Niobe*, p. 397, *ff.*), where an *Ἀδραστέας πεδῖον* reminds us of the Phrygian Adrastus (Herod i. 35) and of the Nemesis who is so frequently found in relation with Cybele-worship, we find a town Thebe under a mount Plakos. It lies in the *Ἀπίας πεδῖον*, a name that connects itself both with the

¹ Nic. Damasc. fr. 49, which is a curious proof of the intercourse between Lydia and the Greek cities, although it cannot be counted historical.

² The reading of the MSS. is *πλαστανης* or *πλαστηνης*, v. 13; the emendation is generally accepted.

Peloponnesos and the Phrygian religion.¹ Plakos is therefore a fit name to find in the peculiar home of the Niobe legends among the hills of Sipylos.

On the coins of Magnesia there are two types of Cybele which occur far more frequently than any other. In one the goddess is sitting between two lions, holding in her right hand the phiale and resting her left, which sometimes holds the *hasta pura*, on the tympanon. In the other the goddess stands in a temple between two lions, holding out in the right hand a phiale, and with the left supporting a tympanon on her shoulder. Slight modifications of each type occur, but on the whole they are so constant and frequent that they must have been modelled after two images of the Cybele whom the city worshipped as its patron goddess. In that case the sitting figure, which is never represented inside a temple, is probably the rock figure of Meter Plakiane, while the standing image in the temple must be that which was in a temple of Cybele inside the city. Although the *hieron* of Meter Plakiane was evidently a very holy place for the Magnesians, it was too far from the city, too high and difficult of access, to be the actual seat of the state-worship. Numerous cases may be quoted from the history of Greek religion, in which besides the old and peculiarly holy shrine, too small and inconvenient for the worship of later times, a temple corresponding in size and magnificence to more advanced requirements was built, so *e.g.* the two temples of Asclepios in the Asclepieion at Athens, the two temples of the Samothracian cultus, &c.² In these cases the chief part of the cultus is performed in the later temple: hence we can understand that at Magnesia also the second temple of the Meter Sipylene was the most familiar to the citizens and still more to strangers, and it is not improbable that the name Plakiane was restricted to the old rock sanctuary. The standing image of Cybele in the second temple became the recognised representative of the city. On the coin that commemorates **ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ**, Smyrna is represented by the two Nemeseis, and Magnesia by the standing

¹ A Phrygian town is named Appia. The commonest personal names in Phrygia are Apion, Apiôn, Apia, Apios, Appe, Appias, &c. I would connect these, like all other common Phrygian names, with native religion, and not, as

Cavedoni (*Annali*, 1861, p. 149), does, with the Roman proconsul Appius, 53 B. C.

² See Köhler, *Mith.* ii. 255; Bendorff, *Samothrace*, ii.

figure of Cybele: and when we see on Magnesian coins a figure of Fortune standing in a tetrastyle temple we shall look on it as the goddess of the city slightly modified to symbolise the 'Good Fortune of Magnesia.'¹ It is doubtless by a slight modification of the same idea that on the Puteolanian Basis, an imitation of the monument raised at Rome in the Forum Julium beside the temple of Venus Genitrix by fourteen cities of Asia Minor, Magnesia is represented as a woman dressed in a long chiton and a mantle, adorned with mural crown, and holding in the raised right hand an object the character of which is now undistinguishable.

On a coin of Magnesia occurs the type of a Hermaphrodite (Mionnet, *Suppl.* vii. p. 385). The idea of an original self-complete nature in which the distinction of sex has not yet been developed was characteristic of the cultus of Cybele, and is known to have been an Asiatic, not a Greek thought.²

The most important evidence of the character of the cultus in Sipylos is the passage where Pausanias mentions the dance *kordax*, which the companions of Pelops had known in their old home and introduced in their new Peloponnesian abode. In this tale the *fact* is that such a dance was practised in the religion of Sipylos: the *legendary addition* lies in the explanation of how the same dance was used in Elis. Enthusiastic dances are a regular accompaniment of the Asiatic religion. Curtius has aptly compared the dances at the festival of Artemis Koloênê on the Gygaean lake (*καλάθους χορεύειν*, Str. p. 626) with those in honour of the Spartan Artemis, where women danced wearing crowns of reeds: 'The spirit of this naturalistic cultus leads the servants of the goddess while engaged in her worship to transform themselves into the likeness of her holy animals, stag, cow, or bear, or of plants, which stand in relation to her worship.'³

The Meter Sipylene is doubtless the same goddess who was worshipped all over the Hermus valley, as Cybele at Sardis, as Artemis Koloênê at the Gygaean lake. When we find that the Lydians maintained that they possessed the original of the statue

¹ Similar remarks might perhaps apply to various figures of Fortune on coins of Asia Minor; in other cases, however, the Fortune is simply the Roman idea copied.

² See Jahn in *Leipz. Verhandl.* 1851.

³ *Artemis Gygaia*, in *Arch. Ztg.* 1853, p. 151.

of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, and when we hear that after the scourging of boys in front of her altar in Sparta, a *πομπή Λυδῶν* was held, we shall set these facts alongside of the many others which prove that the religion of Sipylos was carried direct to the Peloponnesos. The traditions of the Pelopid dynasty are as closely interwoven with Lydian Artemis-worship as they are with Sipylos and Phrygia.¹

It is unnecessary in this place to do more than refer to the proofs already often collected that the goddess Artemis of Laconia and Attica, with her human sacrifices and her wholly foreign character, is identical with the Lemnian goddess Chryse and the Thracio-Phrygian Cybele. With slight local modifications the cultus of Artemis Tauropolos, Limnatis, Orthia, Orthosia, &c., is essentially the same as that of the Lydian Artemis; and few will now try to maintain that the strict separation which prevailed in Hellenic polytheism between the different goddesses had any counterpart in the primitive cultus. No strong line can be drawn between Artemis and Cybele: their nature is essentially the same, viz. an impersonation of the living, fertile, self-reproductive power of nature: their cultus is essentially the same with its priestly sovereignty over a district of hiero-douloi: the names attached to its religion, found in the legends that grow round each seat of the cultus are the same. The relation which these different forms of the Asiatic goddess bear to one another will not be fully understood till the rock sculptures of Pteria have been explained.

These indications, slight in themselves, are enough to show the character of the worship of Cybele on Mount Sipylos, and to assimilate it to the general religion of Lydia and Phrygia; and when we find that a hill in the suburbs of Smyrna was called the Hill of Atys,² we shall not hesitate to connect it with the worship of the Meter Sipylene, *τῆς εἰληχυσίας θεοῦ τὴν πόλιν*, and to consider that the name Atys was in the religion of Sipylos applied to the god who was associated with the Meter Sipylene.

The Greek emigrants, while still in Thessaly, must have

¹ Curtius, *Art. Gyg.*; Müller, *Dorier* i. p. 382.

² See Aristides, ed. Dind., ii. 449, where the context shows clearly that

the neighbourhood of Smyrna is meant, and not, as the writer of the life of Aristides in vol. i. imagines, the district of Poimanene.

worshipped Zeus, and on the autonomous coins of Magnesia Zeus is the most characteristic type. When the Greek settlers adopted the old religion of Sipylos alongside of their own Greek worship, the legends of the two religions became so mixed together that it is often hardly possible to distinguish them. Hence when we find that the myths relating to Rhea and Kronos, the birth of Zeus, the Kouretes, the union of Zeus and Semele, the Nymphs, the river Acheloos, &c., were localised on Sipylos, the only means of determining whether any of these belong to the native religion is to examine how far they can be observed in the religion and nomenclature of the whole district, especially further up the valley in the purely Lydian country.

Zeus was born on Mount Tmôlos at a place a little west of Sardis (Johan. Lydus *de Mens. Apr.*). Now Tmôlos is the same name as Tomaros, the sacred mountain of Zeus that overhangs Dodona. On the one side we have the various forms Tmôlos, Timolos, Tumôlos, on the other side the forms Tmaros, Tmôros, Tomouros, Tomaros;¹ and it seems hardly open to doubt that these two series of forms are related to each other with the variation of *l* and *r*. It is therefore clear that the birth of Zeus on the mountain was part of the earliest common Graeco-Lydian religion and at home from the earliest time in both countries. But the birth of Zeus on the mountain is clearly the same legend as the birth of the Phrygian Mountain-son Agdistis (*agdos* the Phrygian for mountain, Greek ἄχθος), *i.e.* Atys, and it becomes therefore most probable that the Greeks found the legend existing on Sipylos and Tmôlos in the form that the native god Atys, the beloved of Meter Cybele, was born on the sacred mountain, that they identified the native god with their own Zeus (as in Bithynia, according to Arrian, Papas, Attis and Zeus were considered names of the same god, see Eust. on Il. v. 405, p. 463), and the birth and home of Zeus were therefore located on Sipylos.

So also the river and fountain worship connected with Achelous and the nymphs was as characteristic of Lydia as of Thessaly. The Achelous beside which the nymphs danced is mentioned by Homer and Pausanias in connection with Sipylos.

¹ Probably the river Timeles is the river of Timolos. See Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Tumôlos, Tomaros.

Achelês was a river of Sipylos: Achelês the son of Heracles was ancestor of the Heracleid dynasty of Lydia: Achelesios was said to be a river of the Hermus valley. The Greeks were ordered by the oracle of Dodona to sacrifice to Achelous, and in like manner the rivers of Lydia were worshipped, Hyllus, a Lydian river is, like the leader of the Heracleid invasion into the Peloponnesos, a son of Heracles: Hermos is a son of Zeus in local tradition (*Vit. Hom.*) or of Oceanos (*Hes. Theog.* 345): Meles in the Smyrna valley, the father of Homer, the ever fresh-flowing bath of the nymphs (*Aristid. ed. Jebb*, p. 232) bears the name of a Lydian Heracleid king, and his worship is proved by the following inscription on a column in the mosque of Bournabat: ¹—

ὕμνῳ θεὸν Μέλητα (ποταμὸν) τὸν σωτήρᾱ μου
παντὸς δὲ λοιμοῦ καὶ κακοῦ πεπαυμένον.

The worship of feminine personifications of the waters and of nature in general is equally characteristic of Lydia. The leaders of the Maeonians at Troy are the two sons of Talaimenes and the Gygaean Lake, *i.e.* the goddess or nymph of the lake. It is only another version of the same idea that Iphition, son of Otrynteus (a name of the Lydo-Phrygian mythology, see Part IV. *s.v.* Atreus) and the Naiad, was born beside the Gygaean lake (*Iliad*, xx. 382). Other examples of the idea current in Mysia and Lydia that the heroes of the land are the sons of the goddess-nymphs of lakes and fountains, are collected by E. Müller ²: and the same idea is seen in the parentage of the Thessalian hero Achilles. Where the chiefs were born, there also they were buried: the graves of the Lydian kings and heroes are found on the shores of their mother-lake. It is clear that the two ideas have a common origin connected with the cultus of the dead as living on in the life of nature, which was evidently such a prominent part of Phrygian religion.

The mountain nymphs plant elm trees round the grave of Eetion at Thebe (*Iliad*, vi. 420), a place of which the close

¹ I repeat the inscription, as the text in *C. I. G.* 3165 is inaccurate. The word *ποταμὸν* which disturbs the metre is bracketed; it shows that the dedicatory is quoting from some other source. The form of the letters makes it highly

probable that the inscription dates from the end of the second century B.C. The Pi has one leg shorter than the other, yet the letters have the ornate form that marks the Roman period.

² *Gygēs u. d. Gyg.* See in *Philol.* vii.

analogy to Sipylus in nomenclature has already been noticed. The Phrygian tale of Baucis and Philemon (*Ov. Met.* viii. 623) in like manner centres in the cultus attached to an oak and a linden, the spirits of a hero and heroine, in a sacred precinct beside a swamp. The reading Tyaneia (l. 722), which transports the scene from the fields of Pelops and the Phrygian hills (l. 623) to Cappadocia, is not in the MSS., and Stark remarks on the suitability of the description to Sipylus.¹

Apollo is also a common type on coins of Magnesia. He is generally sitting holding in his left hand a lyre, in his right either a branch or a phiale. The phiale is, as we have seen above, a special characteristic of Phrygian deities. The god standing with a phiale in the right hand and often pouring from it a libation on an altar is one of the commonest types on coins over the whole of Phrygia and Lydia, and on two reliefs² of great importance for Asiatic religion, his name is given as Zeus Sabazios. In these cases therefore Sabazios was identified with the Hellenic Zeus, but it is more usual to find the type identified with Apollo, and most coins show this intention. The Asiatic characteristic phiale shows that the Lydian god whose seat of worship was by the hot springs, and not a really Hellenic Apollo, was the model for the coins of Magnesia. The branch which the god on the coins sometimes carries instead of the phiale is the symbol of his purificatory power, very appropriate to the Apollo of the hot springs. In the treaty (*C. I. G.* 3137) it is provided that the Magnesians shall place one copy ἐμ Πάνδοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, and it seems almost certain that the Apollo by whom the Magnesians swore, and whom we have considered a god adopted by the Greek settlers, is the same Apollo who appears frequently on coins of the city bearing a symbol characteristic of Asiatic gods. A new temple to the Mother of Sipylus was built in the city; but the new temple to Apollo was built in the old place at Pandoi. There must have been some reason for the difference: it is that the hot springs marked the place that the god had chosen as his own seat, and we have above referred to the remains of the temple there. The type, like

¹ But the legend in Ovid contains a reference to the legend of the flood, as Abel remarks (Pauli, *Encycl.* s.v. Phryges), and this legend was localised in southern Phrygia on the road between

Celaenae and Tyana. *Pelopeia* must be translated in a general sense.

² Wagner, in vol. xxx. of the *Mem. Acad.* Brussels; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880.

those of Cybele, was not improbably taken from a statue in the temple. The lyre and the general type of the figure are purely Greek: we have here one of those half-Greek half-Asian combinations which resulted everywhere from the desire to identify Asian and Greek deities.

Asclepius was worshipped in Magnesia. He appears on coins and his priesthood is mentioned in the following inscription, a copy of which was given me by Mr. C. Palamida: *Δυσανίας Νικίου ἱερεὺς γενόμενος Ἀσκληπιοῦ κείονας πέντε*.¹ Nothing remains to show whether the worship was introduced from Greece at a later period when the cultus became a popular one, or was connected with the old religion of Sipylos.

From the legend **ENMONIDeia** on coins of Magnesia, evidently the name of some games, Eckhel (iii. 107) concludes that some place in the neighbourhood called Monideia was the seat of a festival and games. The legend occurs in the fuller form **ΑΔΡΙΑΝΑΑΝΤΩΝΗΑΕΝΜΟΝΙΔΕΙΑ**, but it is doubtful whether one can safely suppose that an old festival at this place received a new name in Roman time.

There remains to consider the derivation of the name Sipylos. The traditional derivation, accepted by Stark, is that Sipylos means 'the gate of god,' Sibulla 'the counsel of god.' Derivations of Asiatic names from Greek words is permissible only when these words can be proved to have been in use in Asia Minor, or when they closely resemble early Indo-European forms: it is not safe to derive Asiatic names from words which have a manifestly Greek stamp on them, such as *σιός* and *θεός*.² It would be desirable in the name of this sacred mountain to find some reference to antique religion. The Amazon name Hypsipyle is either a name fabricated on Greek soil or a false form produced by popular derivation: it may be the feminine of Sipylos. It is still more probable that Sibulla³ is likewise a false form

¹ I have not myself seen the inscription, which is said to be on a small pillar. The Greek who gave it to Mr. Palamida offered to sell me the honour of discovering this and several other things in the neighbourhood, but I declined to trade.

² Comp. Ahr. *Dial. Aeol.* § 6, 5.

³ Sibulla belongs to the Apollo-cultus

of Asia Minor, whence she spread to Cumae in Campania. She is called the sister, or daughter, or consort, or priestess of Apollo. Her grave was shown in the temple of Apollo at Gergis in the Troad; and at Cumae her cave with her tomb in it lay beside the temple of Apollo. Her prophetic books are a gift of the god.

produced by Greek lips from the same original. The original form is then *Sibulos*, fem. *Sibula*, which became among the Greeks *σί-πυλος* and *σί-βυλλα*. If this hypothetical *Sibula* be accepted, it follows that the earth-goddess *Semele*, who is known on *Sipylos* (Schol. *Iliad*, xxiv. 615), bears the same name. The change of 'b' to 'm' is common, and especially on the eastern side of the Aegean: on the Cypriote forms *κυμεράω* for *κυβερνάω*, *τρεμιθοῦς* from *τερέβινθος*, see Deecke in *Bezzenb. Beitr.* vi.: on 'μ' for 'π' and for 'β' in Lesbian, see Ahrens, *Dial. Aeol.* § 6, 6: in Asia Minor compare Salmakis and Salbakos, Baththin and Immathin, Blaundos and Mlaundos, &c. Every step towards simplifying the infinite variety of Greek religion and mythology is so important that one is tempted to hazard the comparison of this *Sibula* with *Kibula*, and to suppose that in the name of the goddess *Cybele* there were two forms *Kubila* and *Kibula* (compare *Μυτιλήνη* and *Μιτυλήνη*). Either two separate names for the earth-goddess, *Semele-Sibula* and *Cybele*, exist side by side, or these two names are derived from one original form. As all these names are foreign words spelt as they sounded to the Greek ear, we must expect to find in them great variations in vowel sound, and frequent modifications to produce a word significant in the Greek language. In the transcription of Roman names we find frequent examples of both tendencies (see Dittenberger's papers on this subject, *Hermes* vi.). So the son of *Heracles* and *Omphale*, called *Akeles* by *Hellanicus*, sometimes appears as *Agelaos* or *Alkaios*. A good example is seen in the Lycian town *Kandyba* and the personal name *Kendaibês*, which evidently means 'man of *Kandyba*.' The form *Kendaibês*, stem *Kendaibi*, is formed from an original *Kendabi* by the common metathesis of *i*. Hence the older form of the town-name is *Kandaba*, the same word as the Carian town *Tendeba*.

If this comparison be correct, the one original form has in different places and different circumstances been developed into the many variants *Sibulla*, *Semele*, *Hypsipyle*, *Sipulos*, and *Kybele*.

We come now to the *Niobe* legend; and the first question which arises is whether the rock-cut image of *Cybele* above described can be identified with the *Niobe* of Greek literature—

ἤκουσα δὴ λυγροτάταν ὀλέσθαι
 τὰν Φρυγίαν ξέναν
 Ταντάλου Σιπύλῳ πρὸς ἄ-
 κρῳ τὰν κισσὸς ὡς ἀτενῆς
 πετραία βλάστα δάμασεν,
 καὶ νιν ὄμβροι τακομέναν,
 ὡς φάτις ἀνδρῶν,
 χιών τ' οὐδαμὰ λείπει,
 τέγγει δ' ὑπ' ὀφρύσι παγκλαύτοις δειράδας.
 (Soph. *Antig.* 822.)

παντατλάμων Νιόβα, σὲ δ' ἔγωγε νέμω θεόν,
 ἄτ' ἐν τάφῳ πετραίῳ
 αἰαὶ δακρύεις. (Soph. *Electr.* 150.)

Both Aeschylus and Sophocles lay special stress on the fact that Niobe is a goddess and not a mortal woman—

ἀλλὰ θεός τοι καὶ θειογενής,
 ἡμεῖς δὲ βροτοὶ καὶ θνητογενεῖς, (Soph. *Antig.* 834.)

which looks like a half-understood reminiscence of the Cybele statue. In like manner it is easy to understand the words of Homer as referring to the same figure. Two different versions are mixed up in the passage of the *Iliad* (24, 610, ff.). According to that which is connected with the context, Niobe was consoled after her sorrow, and the people were turned into stones: according to the other, which is usually esteemed an interpolation—

νῦν δέ που ἐν πέτρῃσιν ἐν οὖρεσιν οἰοπόλοισιν
 ἐν Σιπύλῳ, ὅθι φασὶ θεάων ἔμμεναι εὐνὰς
 Νυμφάων, αἳ τ' ἀμφ' Ἀχελώϊον ἐρρώσαντο,
 ἐνθα λίθος περ ἐοῦσα θεῶν ἐκ κήδεα πέσσει.

Similarly the expressions of most other writers who refer to the fate of Niobe and connect it with Sipylos might well apply to this figure: a full list of them may be found in Stark, *Niobe* p. 26, ff. But the case is very different when one examines the words of the only two writers who have certainly seen what they describe as 'Niobe,' Pausanias of Magnesia and Quintus of Smyrna. The natural meaning of their words is that both of them describe an appearance presented at particular points of view by the natural conformation of the mountain. It looks like a woman mourning who

μάλα μύρια δάκρυα χέυει
καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀτρεκέως φῆς ἔμμεναι, ὅπποτ' ἄρ' αὐτὴν
τηλόθεν ἀθρήσεις, ἐπὴν δέ οἱ ἐγγὺς ἵκηαι,
φαίνεται αἰπήσσοι πέτρῃ Σιπύλοιό τ' ἀπορρώξ.

Q. Sm. i. 300.

ἡ δὲ πλησίον μὲν πέτρα καὶ κρημνός ἐστιν οὐδὲν παρόντι
σχῆμα παρεχόμενος γυναικὸς οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε πενθούσης· εἰ δέ
γε πορρωτέρω γένοιτο, δεδακρυμένην δόξεις ὁρᾶν καὶ κατηφῇ
γυναιῖκα.¹—Paus. i. 21, 3.

The image of Cybele does not correspond to these words. Its artificial character and the fact that it is a representation of a human being become much more evident the nearer one goes to it. Moreover, I have never been able to see it weep. I have gone twice in the midst of heavy rain which had lasted for some time, but found not a drop of water flowing over the figure: the water drops from the front of the niche quite clear of the figure and does not touch even its knees.² Pausanias lays much less stress than other writers on the tears of the Niobe, and he expressly rebukes the unjustifiable exaggeration that Niobe weeps in summer (viii. 2, 5-6): but even he seems to consider that she weeps at least in the rainy season. Moreover it seems certain that Pausanias refers to the rock-figure when he says (iii. 22) that the Magnesians of Sipylos possessed Μητρὸς θεῶν ἀρχαιότατον ἀπάντων ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ Κοδδίνου πέτρῃ, the work of Broteas son of Tantalus. There are only two alternatives open. Either one may believe that Pausanias's Niobe and his Cybele are the same, or one must believe that the rock-figure now known is his Cybele and that his Niobe is still hid ἐν οὐρεσιν οἰοπόλοισιν. The former is far the more alluring view: but it has the disadvantage that it makes the usually accurate Pausanias stultify himself in the most extraordinary manner about a point which he knew so well.³ Finally it must be remembered

¹ I too have seen at Edinburgh Brougham haranguing the city from the mountain side: when you are beside it you see nothing but a rock, but if you go to a particular point at some distance, you would fancy that you saw a man speaking from the crag.

² On this matter of fact I am sorry to have to differ from Dr. Van Lennep.

³ One who reads over the passages in which Pausanias refers to Sipylos, Niobe, and Tantalus, cannot fail to be struck with the life-like and telling accuracy of his language; it is that of a loving eye-witness.

that the only account which distinctly localises the legends places them among the mountains towards the Smyrna side of Sipylos. The Scholiast on *Iliad* xxiv. 615, says that the Achelous of Homer was a stream Acheles which flows from Sipylos into the Smyrnaean territory. There are only four streams to which these words might apply,—the river of Bournabat, the river which flows past Old Smyrna into the north-east corner of the gulf, and two rivers between Old Smyrna and Cordelio. The most western of these streams must pass near the temple of Artemis beside which Quintus fed his sheep (xii. 311),

τῆς τόσον Ἑρμοῦ ἄπωθεν ὅσον βοοῶντος ἀκούσαι,
οὔρει τ' οὔτε λίην χθαμαλῶ οὔθ' ὑψόθι πολλῶ ;

and M. Weber has already applied the name to this river.¹

For my own part I find it impossible to believe that Pausanias describes the so-called Niobe on Sipylos in the words above quoted, or that his Niobe and his Cybele are identical. Those who can believe it will be able to localise more distinctly the real origin of the Niobe myth. In any case it is certain that a religious legend widely spread among the Greeks,—that the twelve children of the goddess Niobe were slain by the sun-god—was at some very early time modified by a tale connected with an appearance or a figure in the rocks of Sipylos.² The legend took the form that Niobe mourned till finally she was turned into stone, and that the stone continues still to weep incessantly. Pausanias (viii. 2) gives as a reason for believing in religion that the figure remains still in Sipylos to attest the truth of the legend, though men have obscured this attestation by the false addition that Niobe *θέρους ὥρᾳ κλαλεῖν*. This modification of the legend must have taken place in Smyrna, a fact which furnishes some slight presumption that the *λαϊνέη Νιόβη* was not far away beside Magnesia but in the lonely mountains accessible from Smyrna as well as from Magnesia. As soon as this Asiatic form had been introduced into Greek literature, its striking character gave it universal acceptance. The legend gained an entirely new meaning at the hand of Aeschylus: it ceased to be a hieratic myth and became a

¹ *Le Sipylos et ses Ruines*.

² Sometimes this legend contains the thought that one of the children survives or is restored to life. This suggests that the same idea underlies

it as is found in the descent and return of Kora, the death and new birth of Adonis,—the idea that the annual death of nature is not a real and final death.

tragedy. Its literary history may be found in Stark : but local legend had also its history which can be traced, thanks to Pausanias's fondness for referring to his Lydian home. From him we find that in the second century after Christ, an elaborate tale was known at Magnesia, and connected with the remains on Sipylos. This form of the legend cannot, as has often been the case, be used as evidence of its original character. It has obviously grown under the influence of the literary legend ; and the remains which we have above described got popular names under this influence. Much in the same style a native of the Loch Katrine district has shown me, perhaps not wholly in unbelief, the rock against which Fitzjames placed his back. It is a matter of some interest, though of no importance except for the history of local superstition and as a proof of the extent to which Greek literature had affected popular legend in so remote a district, to compare the mythic names in Pausanias with the actual localities.

In one passage (v. 13) he enumerates the monuments which prove that Pelops and Tantalus once lived 'in our country ;' they are :

(1) The lake of Tantalus.

(2) The tomb of Tantalus.

(3) The throne of Pelops above the *hieron* of Meter Plakiane.

(4) The statue of Aphrodite at Temnos dedicated by Pelops.

To these may be added from other passages :

(5) The very ancient statue of the Mother of the Gods, made by Broteas son of Tantalus : this was, as we have seen, the cultus image of the *hieron* of Meter Plakiane (so Hirschfeld in Curt. *Beiträge*, p. 83).

(6) The figure of Niobe : this was either the statue of Meter Plakiane, or some rock-phenomenon as yet undiscovered among the mountains.

(7) The old city which was destroyed by an earthquake, and of which the ruins could once be seen under the waters of Lake Saloe till the water concealed them. As regards the existence of these ruins under the lake therefore, Pausanias speaks by faith and

not by sight. He does not actually name this city, but there can be no doubt that he describes the same place which is referred to by Strabo, Pliny, Aristides, &c., and which was evidently considered the home and the city of Tantalus. If that be so, we may ask why in giving the proofs that Tantalus and Pelops had once lived in the country, he omitted to name the city of Tantalus. To say that he did not believe in it is unsatisfactory, for it was, as the contemporary Aristides shows, a matter of universal popular belief, and in the whole enumeration Pausanias is simply repeating popular legend. The answer probably is that it is included in one of the other proofs, and it is easy to see which of them it is.

Aristides often speaks of the old city of Tantalus, and its disappearance under a lake, and he evidently imagined that it was in the heart of the mountains; but Aristides was not a native of the district, he was a great invalid who had certainly never gone into Sipylos and probably never been at Magnesia. He tells in vague rhetorical language a tradition that he had heard of a city older than Smyrna somewhere in the mountains. But a scrutiny of Pausanias's words shows that his city was not in the heart of the mountains. It disappeared in Lake Saloe, so that it is localised in one of a very small number of places. His Saloe is obviously not the same as his Lake of Tantalus. Now the Lake of Tantalus was in the heart of the mountains, for Pausanias says that he has seen white eagles,¹ evidently a rare species, beside it in Sipylos. There are two lakes only among the mountains. The Kara Göl, Black Lake, is a romantic pool deep among the hills, the very place to look for eagles. The Kyz Göl, Maiden's Lake, looks to a great extent artificial, is exceedingly small and in no respect impressive: probably no Greek legends are associated with it.² Saloe is probably the tiny lake at the foot of Mount Plakos, immediately beneath the *hieron* of Meter Plakiane, which is said to have been much larger till it was drained about forty years ago. The city which was destroyed is the acropolis that we have described: the immense ravine beneath it suggested the

¹ He probably means the Ak Baba, 'White Father,' a large bird of the vulture species.

² When I repeated to a friend who

knows the mountains well the words of Pausanias, he said at once, 'The Lake of Tantalus is the Kara Göl.'

idea of the earthquake, and popular mythology completed the legend. The words of Pausanias (vii. 24) in describing the catastrophe give a good description of the locality beside the old acropolis,—*πόλιν ἐς χάσμα ἀφανισθῆναι ἐξ ὅτου δὲ ἡ ιδέα κατεάγη τοῦ ὄρους, ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν ἐρρύη κ.τ.λ.* The word *ιδέα* is clearly a corruption, which has crept in from the line above, but the general sense is certain.

When popular legend speaks of the Throne of Pelops, it probably means some prominent peak overlooking the wide realm that tradition assigned to his father, but which he himself was forced to abandon; like the 'Last Sigh of the Moor' over the plain of Granada. No better point could be found than the summit of the crag on which the acropolis is placed: and the little rock-shrine here might readily suggest to popular fancy the idea of a seat. This was the prominent point of a district where every rock and stone contained a reminiscence of the old legend; and Pausanias merely names the one most striking point and leaves the rest to be understood. He did not, like us, think that these few rock cuttings were the city of Tantalus. That city was for him something great and splendid, now all hid beneath the water, destroyed by the earthquake that had produced the mighty chasm. What we call the acropolis was to him only the peak whence Pelops surveyed his country. But when he mentioned the throne over the *hieron*, every one who knew the country pictured to himself all the rest. It is one of the many cases where Pausanias's words, at first brief and confusing and almost inaccurate, become clear and plain when one examines the locality. Far beneath the peak lies what we have taken as the *hieron* of Meter Plakiane, in front stretches the wide Hermus valley opening out in the direction where Ida lies, according to Aeschylus's exaggerated estimate twelve days journey away.¹

¹ Pausanias says the throne was ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους. These words do not necessarily mean the loftiest point of Sipylos, but some peak which is the summit of its own mountain. The character of the acropolis peak cannot be understood from below, one must go up to appreciate its commanding nature. There are loftier peaks imme-

diately behind it, but if one climbs these, there remain still loftier in the rear. If the statement of Forbiger that a small stream, Phryites, flows into Lake Saloe (Pauly, *Encycl. s.v. Saloe*) were correct, it would furnish a certain proof that the lake below the site of which we are speaking was Lake Saloe; no other lake in Sipylos fulfils this con-

Where was the tomb, *θέας ἀξίος, οὐκ ἀφανής*, of Tantalus? There are practically only two tombs in Sipylos, which so far surpass their neighbours in size or beauty that popular tradition can have seen in them the tomb of the great legendary hero of the district: viz. the great cairn beneath Old Smyrna, popularly called by that name since Texier set the fashion, and the rock-cut tomb beside Magnesia. Either of these would suit the tradition well; but several arguments tell in favour of the last.

It is recognised that Pausanias was a native of Lydia, and probably of the country beside Sipylos. He rarely mentions any part of Lydia except Sipylos, whereas he apparently takes every opportunity of referring to the mountain. If he has to tell that Apollo expelled the locusts from Attica he illustrates it by the way he has three times seen locusts destroyed in Sipylos (i. 24); if he finds white blackbirds in Mount Cyllene, he compares them with the white eagles he has seen in Sipylos (viii. 17). It is equally clear that he did not belong to the Smyrna side of the mountains, but was actually a native of Magnesia. For example he remarks (i. 33) that no statue of Nemesis has wings; at a later period he added a correction *Σμυρναίους τὰ ἀγνώτατα ξόανα ἔχειν πτερὰ οἶδα ὕστερον*. But if he had been familiar as a native with Smyrna, he could hardly have failed to remember from the first the statues of the Nemeseis, almost the most sacred and representative deities of the city. On the other hand he speaks of Cleon of Magnesia as a personal acquaintance (*ἔφασκεν*, x. 4), and only a native would know so well that the Magnesians possessed the oldest statue of Cybele in the world (iii. 22).

The words *παρ' ἡμῶν* (v. 13) in the mouth of a Magnesian refer more readily to his immediate neighbourhood than to a place eight hours' journey away; and when we consider how intimate was the association between Sipylos and Tantalus among the Magnesians, and how many memorials of Tantalus they had beside them, it seems improbable that they would omit his tomb, when the beautiful grave lay so temptingly close to the city of Tantalus. It is perhaps possible to draw some

dition. But I can find no stream Phryites mentioned elsewhere except that near Ephesos flowing into the

Pagasaean Marsh, and Forbiger's account of Asia Minor is full of errors.

inference from the expression *θέας ἄξιος*, which Pausanias uses. In the cases I happen to remember, his *θέας ἄξιος* is applied to things of beauty, *e.g.* to a statue by Pythagoras, vi. 6, rather than to monuments like a cairn, simply distinguished by size; and Herodotus uses the word *ἀξιοθέητος* always in the same sense.¹ (See Stein on Herod. i. 14).

¹ The question would be settled at once if Herr Humann's opinion were correct, that the name Sipylos was restricted to the northern part of the mountains. But the people of Smyrna worshipped Meter Sipylene, and Old Smyrna was built on the slope of Sipylos (Aristid. i. p. 270). It is therefore certain that Sipylos meant the whole range of hills, both on the

north and on the south side. To save any zealous explorer in future a very fatiguing climb, I may add that, in exploring the valley behind the mountain on which the 'Niobe' and the acropolis are situated, I examined a *kastro* of which travellers have spoken but never seen. It is a late stronghold, dating from the border warfare between Mohammedans and Christians.

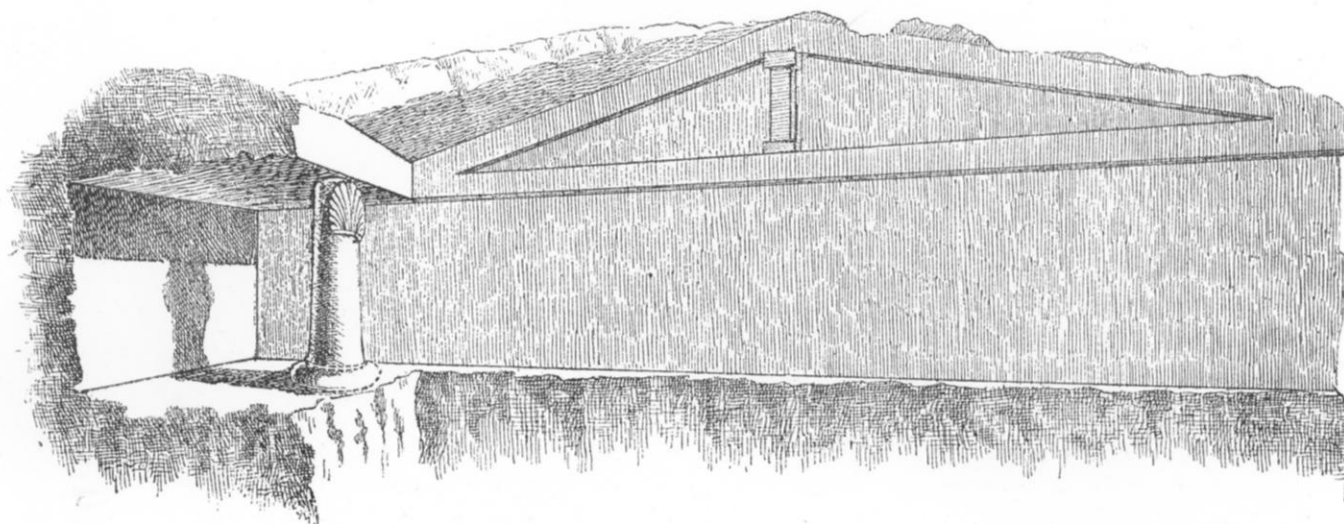
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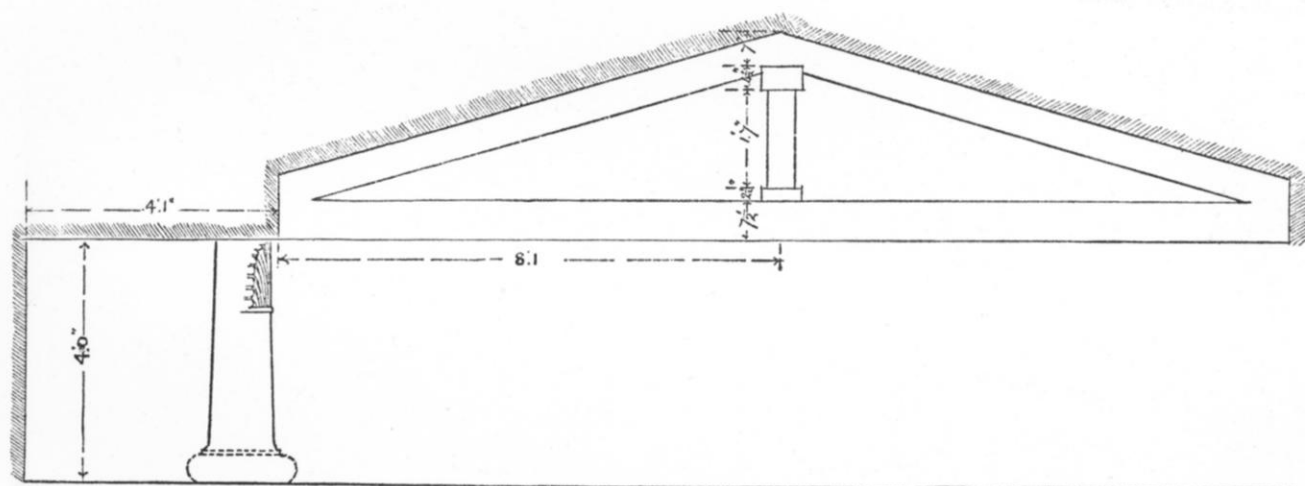
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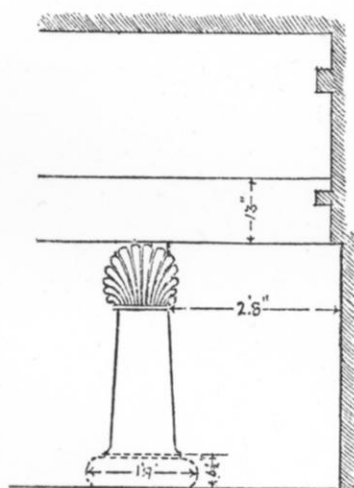
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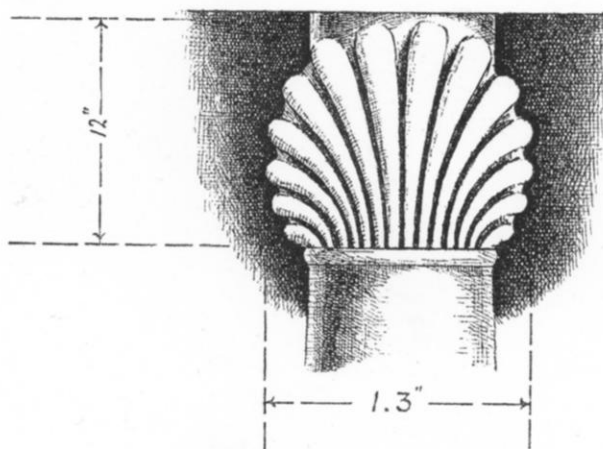
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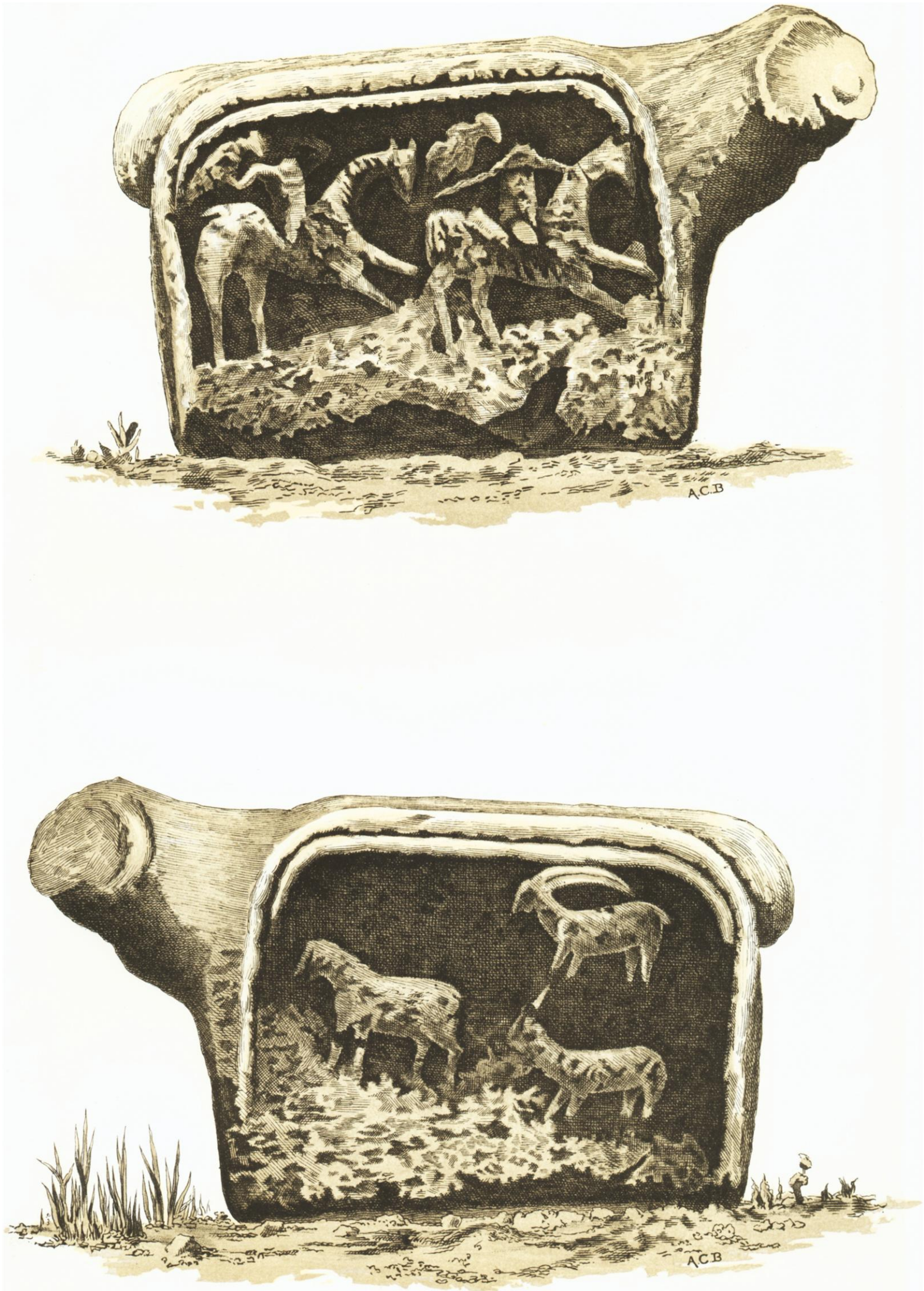
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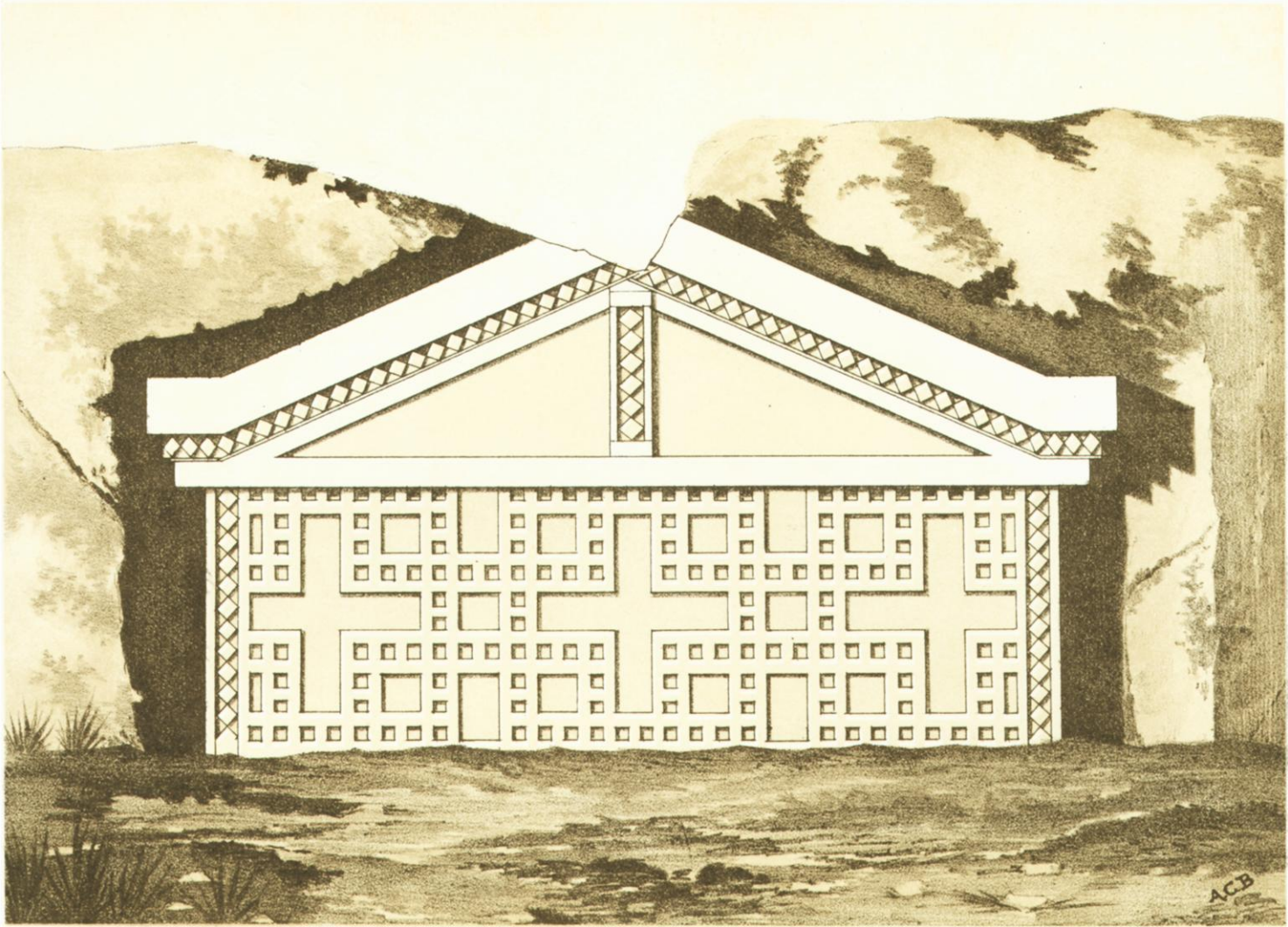
SECTION



DETAIL OF CAPITAL



A



B

